Vol. IX No. 8 Sep. 1973 $1.20

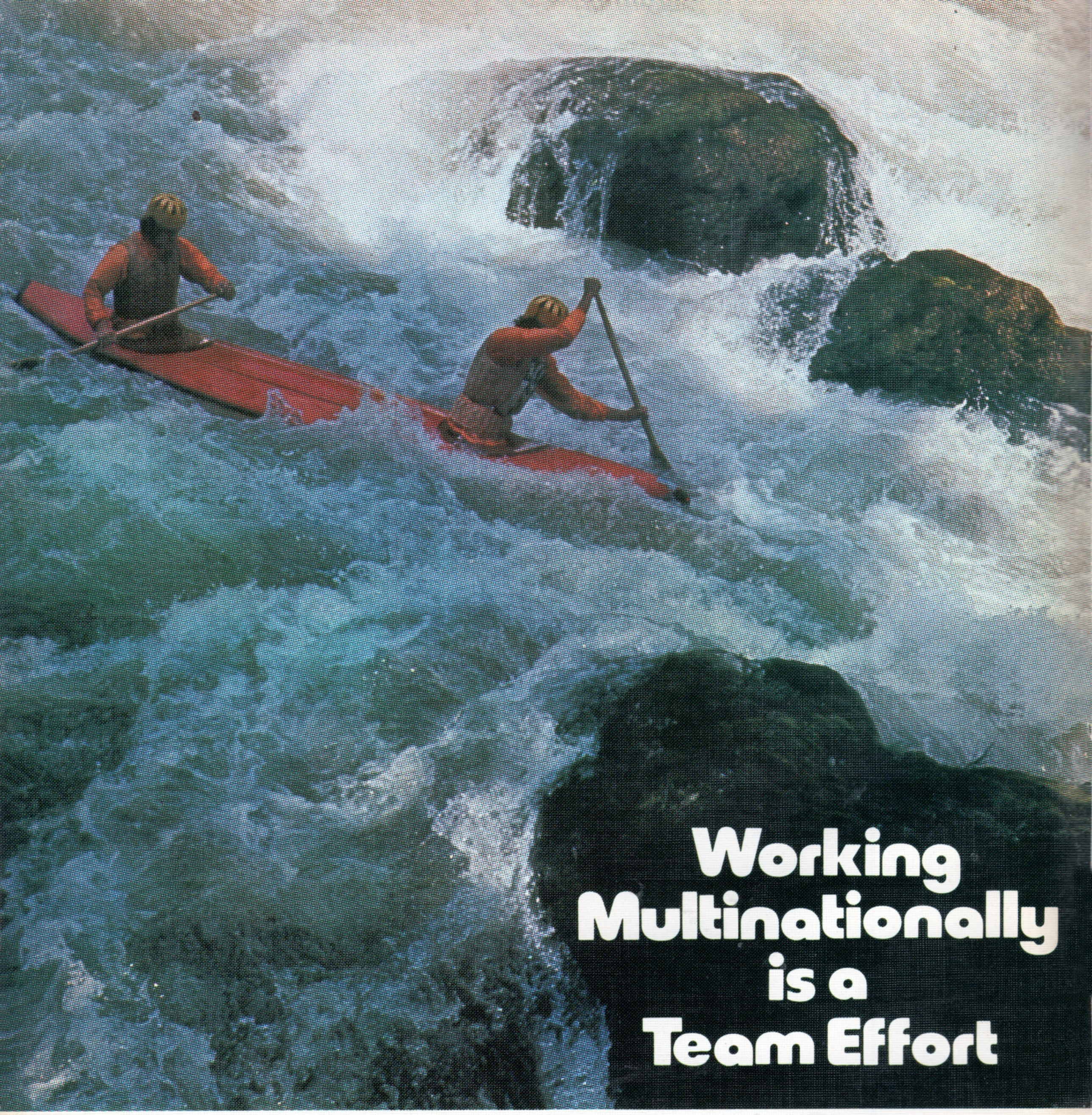
THE EAST

Ninomiya Kinjirō and Business World

Aesthetic Consciousness in Masks

Kanmu—The Emperor Afflicted with Ghosts

Kujūkuri Beach



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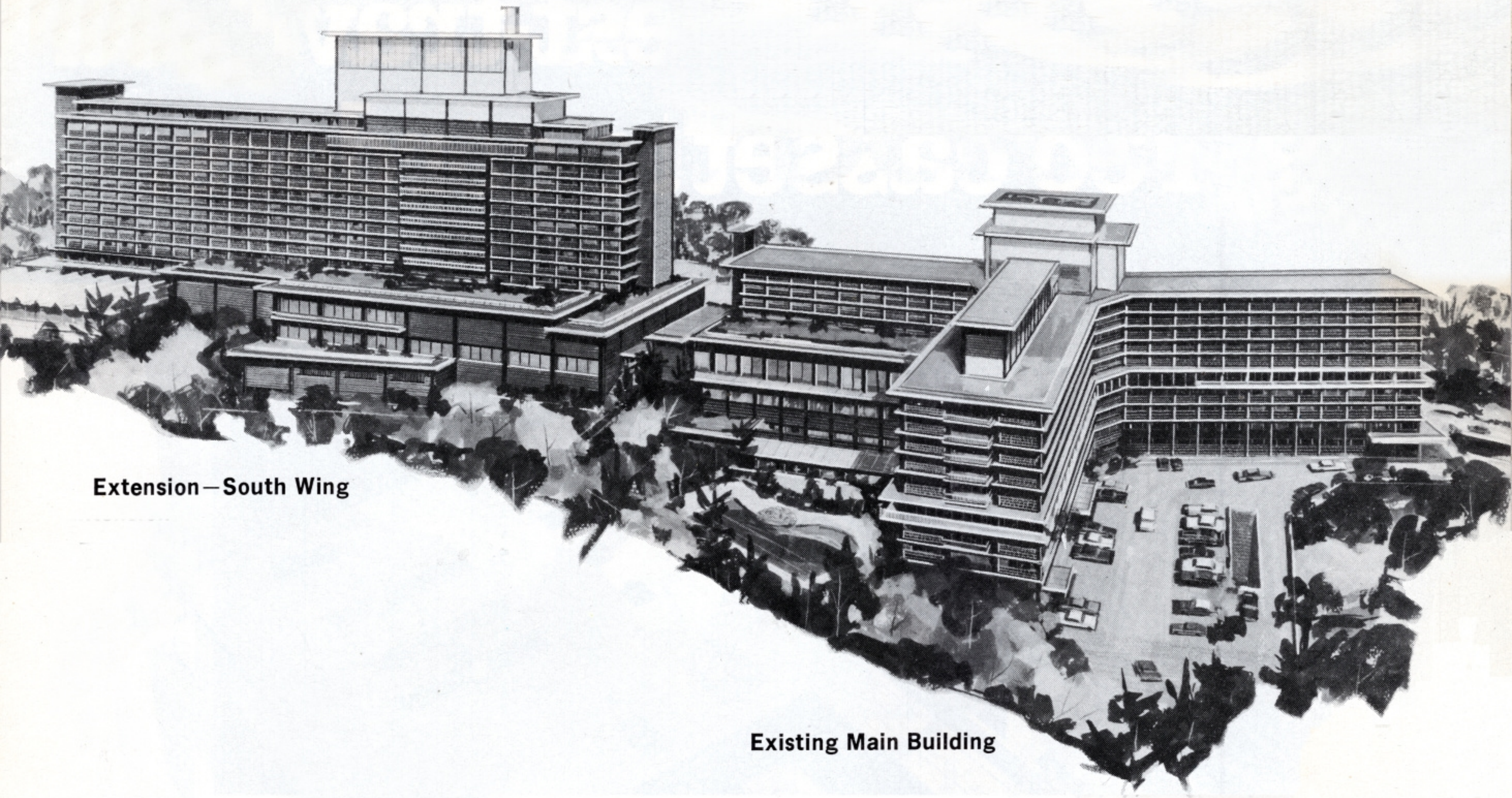

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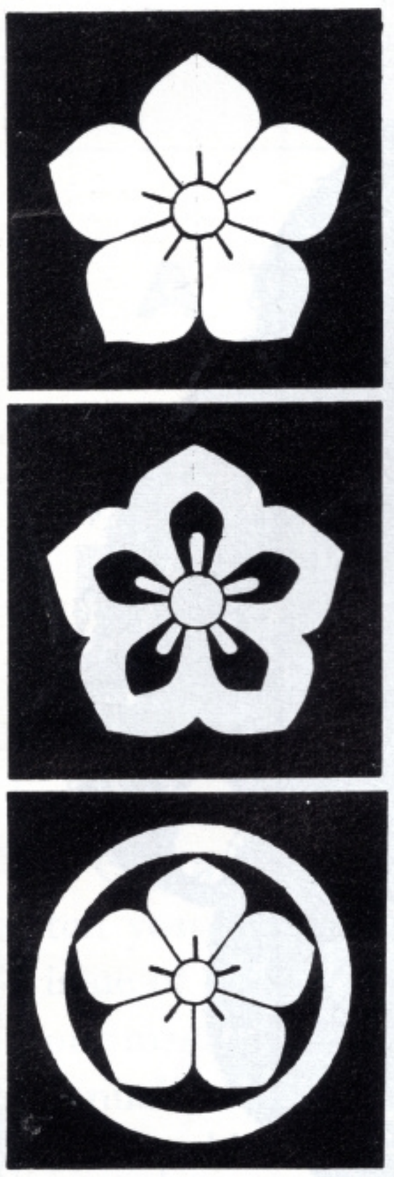
THE EAST

COVER



The kikyō (Chinese bellflower), which grows wild in fields and mountains from late summer to early autumn, opens neat, five fissured, purple petals, and is one of the seven autumnal flowers (others: bush clover, Japanese pampas grass, arrowroot, pink, patrinia scabiosaefolia, Chinese agrimony, Chinese bellflower).

Generally, Japanese family crests have evolved from stylized patterns of flowers, etc., but the kikyō crest seems to have been employed from ancient times as team flags of samurai groups, without going through the usual evolutionary process. The kikyō crest first appears as a crest in "Taiheiki", which outlines the history of the wars during the fifty years in the Nanbokuchō (Northern and Southern Imperial Courts) Period.

What is mentioned in the Taiheiki as "A kikyō riot of Toki holding light blue flag . . . . ." is the kikyō crest, and this implies that among the team flags of the riot of Samurai Toki who had influence in the province of Mino (present day Gifu Prefecture), there was a kikyō crest. As seen in the case of this Toki riot, it seems that the family crests of the leaders of riots were used to name the many riots of that period—as the "kiku (chrysanthemum) riot" or the "Ōgi (fan) riot".

Akechi Mitsuhidé, a descendant of the Toki Family, also used the kikyō crest.

June 1582, the noise of war horses was heard by Nobunaga who was sleeping soundly in the Honnōji Temple. What first met the eyes of his attendant, Mori Ranmaru, sent by Nobunaga to check, were the light blue flags of the kikyō crests displayed over the mud wall. He reported to Nobunaga, "They seem to be Akechi's".

As a result of this historical incident—the rebellion of Akechi Mitsuhidé—the kikyō crest left its name in history along with that of the rebellious retainer, Mitsuhidé, who is famous for his reign of three days.

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CONTENTS

Topics

The Advancement of the Fair Sex; "Pedestrian's Paradise"; Kurosawa Akira's New Movie 8

Industrial Sociology

Ninomiya Kinjirō and Business World ..... *by Hazama Hiroshi* 11

Economic Life

The Japanese Businessman and "Cultural Shock" ..... *by Koga Takucho* 15

Travel Diary

Kujūkuri Beach 18

Fine Arts

Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga 32

Culture

Aesthetic Consciousness in Masks ..... *by Ogasawara Kyōko* 34

Calendar Year

September 39

History

Kanmu—The Emperor Afflicted with Ghosts ..... *by Yonekura Isamu* 44

Kanji

Two Cultures 56

Go for Fun-5

How the Game Ends ..... *by Stuart Dowsey* 59

Ryōri

Boiled Chicken and Vegetables, à la Chinese 65

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A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

Our magazine will become fully ten years old with the December issue of this year. In the beginning, our magazine was published 6 times annually and then 8 times, and is now published 10 times a year. When I look back, I think we have come a very long way.

First of all, I would like to extend my thanks to the long-time subscribers who have read our magazine from the very first issue.

As the readers may have already noticed, the publication of such a type of magazine as ours needs great efforts. To convey the feelings, nature, behaviour and complicated customs of the Japanese accurately, it is desirable that the writers be Japanese with a sure knowledge of Japan, and moreover, that they write clear English for articles read by English speaking people. It is not simply a question of accurate translation but skilled presentation of translations. It has not always been easy to acquire a staff capable of this.

In the meantime, from the viewpoint of expenses, specialized magazines such as ours have a seak point in that circulation can't be enlarged rapidly. Ours is a magazine which aims to appeal to men and women of culture. However hard we may try in the field of editing, in order to open our magazine to the general reader, we must overcome step by step the difficult condition of popularizing the limited view of our exotic culture.

Though we have continuously striven for perfection, our results are still inadequate. We have not yet touched the subjects which attract the reader's interest, and to borrow an English expression, it is still insufficient.

Dealing with these two weaknesses, we are planning a combined improvement for the memorial number of our 10th anniversary. Please continue to read our magazine regularly and appreciate our difficulties.

I take this occasion to say that we will start a series concerning the introduction of Buddhism in the memorial number of the 10th anniversary.

The writer will be Nakamura Hajimé, Honorary Professor at the Tokyo University and chairman of the Eastern Institute, who is the supreme authority on the study of primitive Buddhism in Japan. We ask that the reader look forward to the professor's superb exposition.

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INFORMATION BOX

Q

Dear Sir:

I wrote to you about six months ago regarding some information you might find out for me. Perhaps your own Information Box might help. I have three Kakejiku which have been in our family for over a hundred years that I can recall. The pictures depicted are (1) a warrior dressed in the costume of centuries ago, (2) a dragon and (3) a tiger. I have found from some local Japanese antique dealers that the three should be shown together—never one at a time. However, the artist is not listed in the Japanese directory of known artists so it is difficult to trace its origin or when the pictures were drawn. All that they can guess is since his name appears to be EIRYO EIKO, the artist may be a Buddhist monk or a Shinto priest.

Sincerely yours,
Nobuo Tabata
San Mateo Ca.

A

Experts at The Bijutsu Club Kantei-bu will judge your kakejiku and give you any explanation you desire.

There address is:

Bijutsu Club Kantei-bu
9-3 Ikenohata 4,
Taito-ku, Tokyo
Japan

Q

Dear Sir:

My request concerns the Mon features on the cover of the April 1973 issue. I have a small collection of Japanese antiques, and I am especially interested in items which have a kamé or mino-gamé motif. If you would be kind enough to provide me with additional information regarding families using a mino-gamé or kamé Mon, I will try to contact them and perhaps acquire additional pieces for my specialized collection.

Sincerely yours,
H. G. Sanders
Fuchu, Japan

A

Families using Mino-gamé mon are the Kawada and Hayashi families, descendants of the most important aristocratic family of the Heian Period, the Fujiwaras, and the Ono and Kazuhara families are descendants of the Nara Period aristocrats, the Tachibanas. Also, concerning the families using the Kamé-mon introduced in the cover story of THE EAST Vol. IX No. 4, the Okuyama and Mori families are descendants of the Genji clan and the Rokkaku and Hori families are descendants of the Fujiwaras.

Q

Gentlemen:

I am planning to construct a Japanese bathroom in a new home I am building. While visiting Japan, I found them very pleasant and convenient.

Can you please help me with the following information:

1. Where to obtain the plan of a typical layout for a Japanese bathroom.
2. The name of someone in the United States who has built a Japanese bathroom in his home.
3. The name of a manufacturer or builder of Japanese bathtubs in the United States (preferably) or in Japan.

Any aid you can give me in finding these sources will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Joel S. Spira
Coopersburg, Pa.

A

Takashimaya Department Store in New York will be able to any answer questions you have about Japanese baths.

Their address is:

Takashimaya, Inc.
509 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10017

Q

Dear Sirs,

Can you tell me the address of the Japan PEN Club in Tokyo.

Thank you very much.

De Ryck Raym

A

In reply to your request the Japan Pen Club's address is:

The Japan P.E.N. Club
265 Shūwa Residential Hotel
9-1-7, Akasaka, Minato-ku,
Tokyo, 107

Otherwise, you can communicate through Japanologist organizations in each country throughout the world. Please check your own country for the pertinent address and information.

A Request to Our Readers

Because THE EAST is sent to you directly from Japan, we need to be notified of your **change of address** in plenty of time so that you won't miss a copy.

The mailmen do their best, but sometimes shipments are unavoidably delayed for as much as several weeks, and sometimes, though rarely, a package may go astray between the docks of Yokohama and Europe or San Francisco Bay.

If it should happen that you **miss an issue**, please notify our Subscription Department and we will try to trace the copy or send you a replacement.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

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THE EAST Magazine
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A Notice to Potential Contributors

We welcome contributions from our readers and have been receiving quite a few, but we have had to turn many well-written ones down. We would find it easier to use articies which say something that only you can say—your experiences in Asia as a foreigner, your critical observations on Japanese society, interpersonal relations, customs and culture. It is the job of our staff to introduce various aspects of Japan and Asia, and the content of successive issues is decided fairly far in advance. Your individual way of looking at things will make the best contribution.

The Advancement of the Fair Sex

THE ELEVATION of woman's status in Japanese society has become conspicuous, as in the saying that what became strong after the war are stockings and women. These days expressions such as "The predominance of men over women" are completely out of fashion. As a result of the improvement in women's education, attention is now paid to their opinions, while their entries into various spheres of activities are remarkable. Some say that today is a day of "woman's culture." But what are the facts?

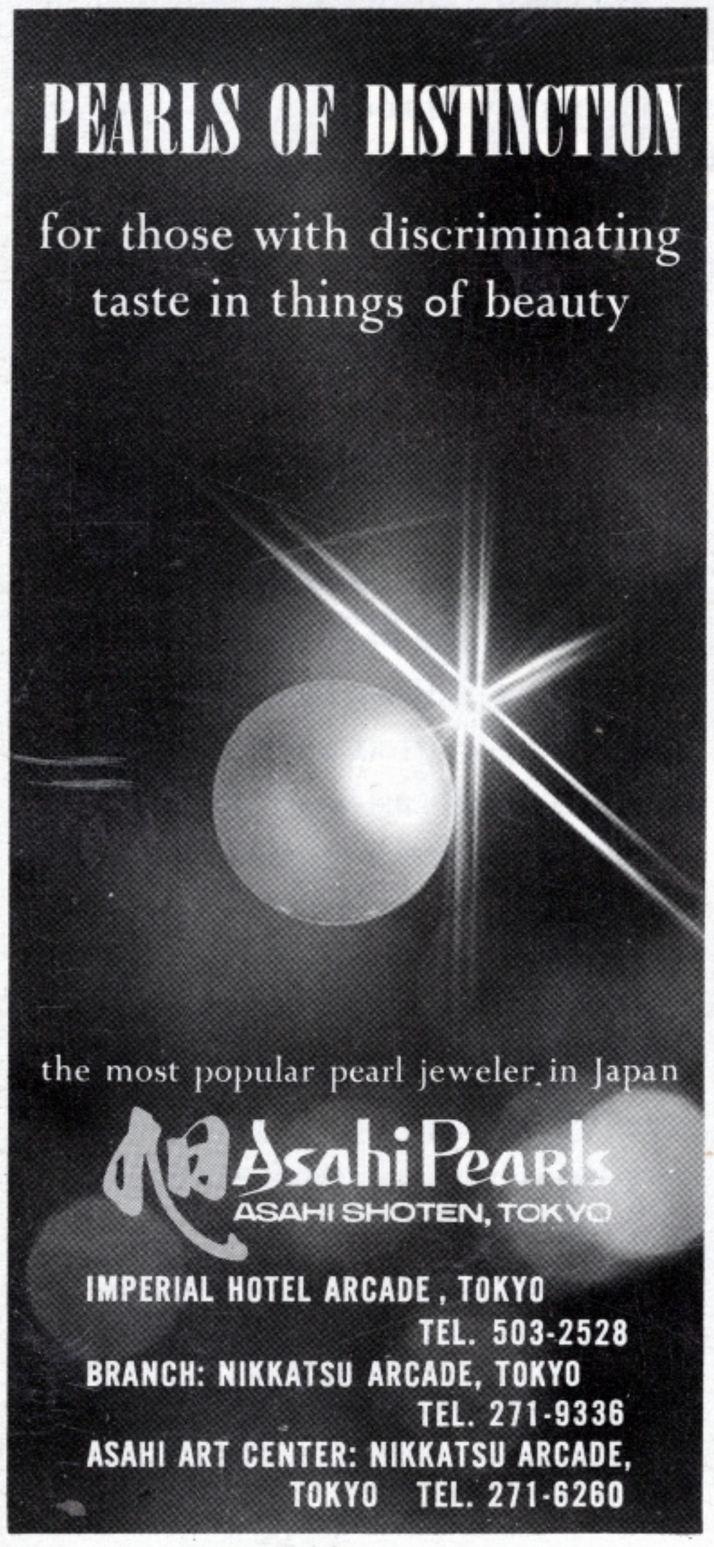
Looking at the literary world, the number of women who have won the Akutagawa Prize and the Naoki Prize, said to be the only door to literary circles, is 10 out of 69 in the Akutagawa Prize and 9 out of 74 in the Naoki Prize of popular literature. There were only three female prize winners of either prize before the war. As for the number of poets, according to certain statistics, 371 out of the total number 2035 registered in Japan—that is, 20%—are women. In haiku (a seventeen syllabled verse) or tanka (a thirty-one syllabled verse), this percentage of the fair sex is much higher—some poetesses outdoing the poets.

What about the musical world? In various contests held every year, the number of female prize winners diminished in the class of vocal music. But in piano, violin, etc, the fair sex is overing. The number of woman is also increasing in cello or music composition. Seeing that the number of woman students are 15,000 —three times as many as men—in the music departments, this increase may be natural, but "the hatching percentage" of these "eggs" is not good. This may be due to the fact that their dedication to music is not as strong as their male contemporaries. In Japan the learning percentage of the piano is the highest in the world, but the disparity in technique between the top players and the worst is also said to be the highest in the world. In short, really good pianists are few.

Now let's turn to the artistic world. There are about 70 main exhibitions of public subscription held annually in Japan. Painters exhibiting them are about 8,000, 30% of which are said to be women. But among the 8,000 picture dealers focus attention on the works of out 250 artists, of whom only some 50 are women. Out of the 480 members of "Nitten", there are 2 women in Japanese painting, 2 in Western painting, 3 in carving and modelling, 2 in the industrial arts and 3 in calligraphy—in all only twelve. Members of the Woman Painters' Association total 178.

In general, the entry of women into the various cultural worlds is surely increasing year by year, but excellent professional artists surpassing the men are still few. Some scholars, however, say that since the circumstances for the creation of real male artists in immediate post war Japan didn't exist, room for the advancement of women was made, and that while the male youth were tired out by entrance examinations, women artists sprang up. The scholar concludes that as a result of the war and the consequent withdrawal of the Japanese male from cultural activities, Japanese women were given and took the opportunity of entering cultural spheres hitherto denied them.

Since now is a time when woman voters, considered easily affected by emotion in elections, cannot be ignored, this scholar's opinion may be unexpectedly right.



"Pedestrian's Paradise"

IN ORDER TO enjoy the weekends and holidays in a "city without cars," Hokōsha Tengoku (Pedestrian's Paradise) was made this June between Ginza and Ueno at a road of about 5.5 km long. The great city of Japan is usually congested with people and cars, and even on Sundays, one can't walk leisurely around the town. So, on weekends and holidays only, the Pedestrian's Paradise, converting the highly in a walkway by banishing cars, is being held in various areas. The one from Ginza to Ueno is the largest yet.

The formal name of the Pedestrian Paradise is "The Longest World" in enigmatic English. And its pet name is "Jumbo Promenade a Go Go." There is a time limit on this Paradise—only from noon to 6 P.M. on holidays, and after that, it becomes a cars' world. On the opening day, June 10, no less than 1,140,000 people took advantage of this privilege.

Kurosawa Akira's New Movie

Film director Kurosawa Akira will direct the production of a motion picture after a long silence. Moreover, he will direct the 70 millimeter *Dersu Uzala* of a Soviet Mosfilm Production with no limitation on production costs.

Much of the film will be made on location in the *Ussuli* districts near Vladivostok, Siberia, and it will take two months to complete. It is to be exhibited at the Cannes movie festival.

Dersu Uzala is an account of an expedition popular in Soviet Union. Director Kurosawa who read the story 30 years ago had always wanted to film it, and when he met the director of the Soviet Public Corporation of the Movie Cooperation at the Moscow movie festival the year before last, the matter was discussed. Recently its production was decided upon. Director Kurosawa himself has a part in the film and Mr. *N. Sizov*, the head of the Mosfilm will take general command of the staff on the Soviet's side. Ivanov of "War and Peace" will join as a producer with five assistant directors. From the Japanese side, 4 or 5 technical production teams and cameramen will join.

"*Dersu Uzala* is a unique character. The words and deeds of this person who lived so close to nature strikes our hearts. I want to bring it into relief. Its filming has been realized through the kindness of the Soviet National Movie Committee and others. The production costs are unlimited. It seems to be a dream when I think

that I have been taking motion pictures under various restrictions. But speaking of no limitation, it is not quite in my line. . . . . ," said director Kurosawa satisfactorily.

Surely, the most elaborate production worthy of director Kurosawa may be expected.

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Japanese Crafts and Products: China and ceramics, plastic ware, wooden ware, objects with a real Japanese flavor used today in Japanese homes
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Ninomiya Kinjirō and Business World

by Hazama Hiroshi

The number of statues of Ninomiya Kinjirō, used to be seen in every primary school right before the war, is now extremely lessened, and if one finds one, it is pushed back in the corners of the schoolyard, left open to damage.

UNTIL THE end of World War II, we could invariably find one statue in the corner of every Japanese primary schoolyard. The statue was modeled after a boy walking with some brushwood on his back while eagerly reading a book in his hand. The boy is a figure of Ninomiya Kinjirō (1785–1856) in his youth who is famous or a popular educator in the last days of the Tokugawa Shōgunate.

Though Kinjirō was born in a poor peasant family, he exerted himself, as symbolized by the statue, for *kinrō* (labor) and gakushū (learning) inspite of his hard circumstances, and grew up to be

not only an excellent farmer but also an excellent popular educator. By accepting the doctrines of the three biggest religions in Japan—Shintō, Buddhism, and Confucianism—he founded "teaching" for the benefit of the masses, in other words *Hōtoku-kyō* 報徳教 (teaching of returning virtue)—considering the gist of his teachings, we should rather call this a precept of life than a religion. At the same time, he produced a unique technique of agricultural management gained through his long experience of farming, and relieved a number of distressed farm villages with his new technique. The number of the farm villages relieved by his guidance is said to have exceded more than 600 villages throughout the country. In other words, he was a practician who gave relief to the masses both in the spiritual and economic aspects of their problems.

After his death, Kinjirō's ideas and activities were carried on by his disciples, who tried to spread it still wider. But what especially attracts our attention after the Meiji era is that the Japanese Government made efforts to spread the Kinjirō spirit through elementary education. The subject that was regarded most important at the prewar primary schools was *shū-shin* 修身 (ethics moral training). The textbook used for shū-shin was compiled by the Education Ministry and was required for all primary schools. In this textbook, words and deeds of exemplary persons were adopted to help the students understanding. The person whose words and deeds were adopted most frequently was the Emperor Meiji, and second was Kinjirō. Hence, aside from the special personnage of the Emperor Meiji, Kinjirō stands as the most familiar and ideal person to the prewar Japanese.

Now what part of Kinjirō's words and deeds were stressed? Let's recall the statue depicting the young Kinjirō. This symbolizes three things. The first is *kō-kō* 孝行 (filial duty). He worked in the place of his ailing father as the chief supporter of his household from his childhood. That he is said to be a dutiful person is not because he was obliged to work in place of his sickly father but because he willingly worked to make his parents and little brother happy. The second is *kinrō* (labor). He not only plowed his family's farm land but strived for an extra income by gathering firewood in the mountains and weaving straw sandals at night. And he also worked as a day laborer at other farm houses. He didn't consider labor as drudgery, but rather found that laboring in the fields made his life worth living. The third is *gaku-shū* (learning). He not only worked hard but also strived for learning, valuing even moments, illustrated by the legend telling how he would read books while carrying firewood down from the mountains. And we must not overlook the fact that his learning was not simply for learning's sake but was closely linked with his work.

Filial duty is deeply connected with Japanese groupism while I have repeatedly mentioned (for example, in Vol. IX. No. 4). What did he work so hard for? He worked not for the purpose of deriving his own personal benefit but to please his parents and brother, that is, for his family. After middle age, he devotedly worked not only for his family but for many villages as well. Such activity was penetrated a kind of "groupism" in which highest value was allotted to the interests of the people as a whole. Now let's examine the other factors, labor and learning.

Throughout his lifetime, Kinjirō's daily activities consisted of three parts—labor, learning and those elements physically indispensable (eating and sleeping etc.). In such a life there is no room for pure pleasures, such as amusements and social activities. We should note that this was set forth by an exemplary life style for the masses in pre-war Japan. While all pre-war Japanese didn't fallen Kinjirō's example, there can be no doubt of the scope of its influence on Japanese attitudes. Not only during the pre-war days but also in the postwar present, the inspiration of Kinjirō's life can be seen in the attitudes of those over 40, as traces from their prewar education.

Illustrations by Yūtenji Saburō

The exemplary characteristics found in Kinjirō's life have a deep connection with the rapid development of the prewar and postwar Japanese economy. So far Japan's rapid industrialization and economic growth have been tied chiefly to the diligence and manual dexterity of the Japanese people. There can be no doubt that diligence is an important driving force of economic growth. Also, Japanese manual skill , as seen in traditional objects of delicate Japanese craftwork, no doubt facilitated the introduction of new industrial techniques from advanced countries, and thus also making a great contribution to industrial development. The writer doesn't intend to deny such opinions altogether. But even more important than these may be that in Japanese society great importance was placed on *gakŭ-shū* (learning). And yet, it was not merely learning facts but, as seen in Kinjirō's life, a learning of knowledge that was intimately related to daily life, especially daily working life. Further the Japanese have attached importance to learning while working, like Kinjirō, who read while carrying firewood. This high regard for *gaku-shū* served as a basis which has enabled Japan to introduce highly developed technology from advanced countries.

It is very difficult to attach importance to a life of learning for the worker in underdeveloped countries, because such a life requires a great deal of sacrifice. Since working conditions in underdeveloped countries are generally bad—low wages and long hours, free hours subtracted from working hours and those hours for eating and sleeping are very few in their daily life. If they devote their few free hours to learning, they lose most of their leisure time. Moreover, if they try to learn while working, their mental and physical burden will be much heavier than it would be otherwise. The reason why Japan could develop was that most people have made great sacrifices in their personal lives.

Even at present, Japanese salaried men not only work hard but study hard as well. *Ken-shū* (study and training) to acquire new knowledge and to develop their talents is now extremely popular in Japanese business circles. Various kinds of training courses are held both inside and outside the companies with very high rates of attendance. These may be held either during the working hours, after work or on holidays. However, all participants don't attend it from their positive desire to learn, but rather because of a company's order. Others join hoping that their chances for promotion may be enhanced if they pretend to be enthusiastic about learning. Considering the large numbers, such negative participants may be very numerous. In spite of this, however, the strong general feeling among salaried men that learning is necessary is a reason for producing animation within the business world.

Thus has learning always been taken seriously by the working people of Japan, a fundamentally desirable phenomenon. Particularly, much can be made of the phenomenon for it has been the powerful, driving-force of Japan's economic development. But there are flaws as well. Let's now examine some of these weaknesses.

Firstly, we can point out one flaw—the education of the working people has been carried out not by public organizations but mainly by private enterprises. Not a few big enterprises have much better-equipped educational and research facilities than those of the universities. A survey has has shown that last year private enterprises invested about 1,000,000,000,000 yen in education and research for their employees. This figure is equivalent to about three times the total expenditure of the 76 national universities which form the academic core of Japan. Education of employees as carried out by

enterprises has great economic effectiveness being directly connected with the labor force. On the other hand, there is a great limitation in the education as executed within the frame of commercial enterprises. It is usually confined to what is directly related to and immediately useful to the business enterprises. Therefore, while very capable employees can be forstered throught this kind of learning, it does not help nurture citizens with a broad view of things. I often hear westerners

speak of the Japanese as follows—" Anyway Japanese are boring people. In daily association with them, they are very eager when talking about business, but when we talk about other things, they are wholly ignorant and quickly become silent." This is not due to any lack of learning of Japanese, but rather by the limitations on the scope of their learning.

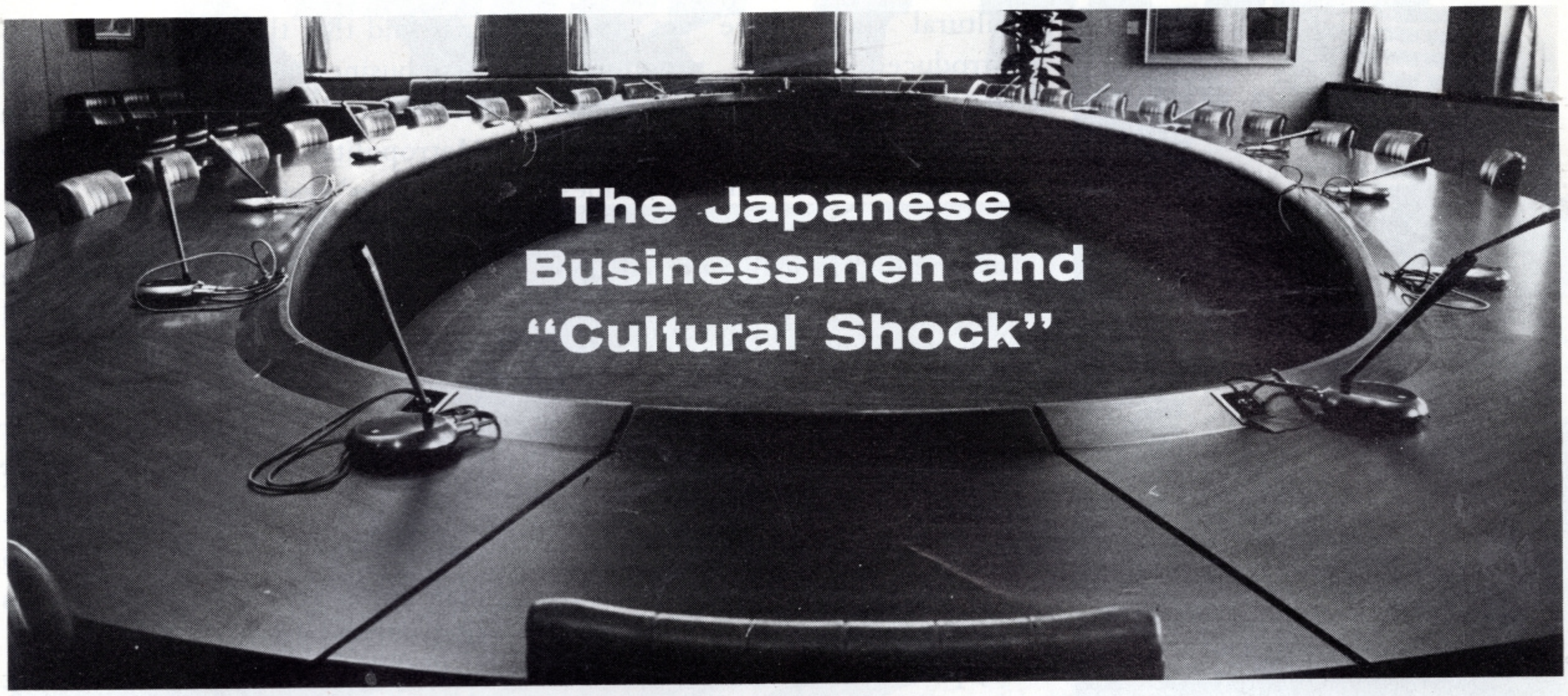
Secondly, there seems to be a flaw in basic principles of education. The central idea of Japanese learning so far has been to memorize but not to think. This is not only true of schooling of the working people but applies to education in general. Teachers in the public schools have made great efforts to force students to memorize as many facts as possible—and often derived from the newest developments in the advanced countries. The same applies to the training meetings held inside and outside of business enterprises. Thus Japanese salaried men have access to the newest, most detailed facts about manufacturing technology, besiness administration, and moreover about the state of management in advanced Western countries. This has certainly played a big role in helping Japan to catch up to advanced nations of the West.

But such methods of acquiring knowledge militate against the use of initiative and creativity. The perfect specimen fostered under this learning methods may be like a computer. That is, a man whose memory capacity of knowledge and facts is large and who can gives a rapid output to a given input-stimulus. Thus this kind of learning process is best general not to turn out excellent men but excellent machines.

As far as the contents of this learning, emphasis has been placed on the knowledge of the advanced countries—since the war, mainly of the U.S.—while information about Japan and the developing nations has been given only light regard. Thus we have Japanese who know the U.S. fairly well but who are ignorant about mind of their own country. This is a tendency particularly common among education-minded Japanese intellectuals. Thus it is not groundless for Asians and Africans to often refer to the Japanese as the "Yellow Yankees".

Thirdly, we may notice that leisure time has become very scarce as a result of devoting one's own time to learning. Leisure hours of rich content nurture a man of rich humanity. But in Japan, the sound use of leisure time has not developed because only learning that was related to work has been affirmed—as in the example of Kinjirō. Generally, Japanese are said to be particularly bad at enjoying their free time—a tendency most noticeable in people over 40. Recently, the 5-day work week is becoming more common in Japan and daily working hours are being shortened. But the free time thus resulting hangs heavily on middle-aged people who are not accustomed to such leisure times. In fact, I often hear how many such men, since they have nothing to do at home, go to the office on their days off and just hang around. At any rate, a "labor and learning life" modelled after Kinjirō's seems to have produced a serious but boring and fidgety man.

After the war most of the Kinjirō statues disappeared from the schoolyards, except in some rural areas. But a recent newspaper article reported that one of the remaining Kinjirō statues located in a rural town was painted red by local youths and inscribed with the words "Nonsense." Thus lives like Kinjirō's dedicated to work and learning which were the foundation for Japan's present economic prosperity are now wholly rejected by the youth of Japan. 東



The Japanese Businessmen and "Cultural Shock"

by Koga Takucho

With the internationalization of the Japanese economy, the number of Japanese businessmen who are expressing so-called "cultural shock" is increasing.

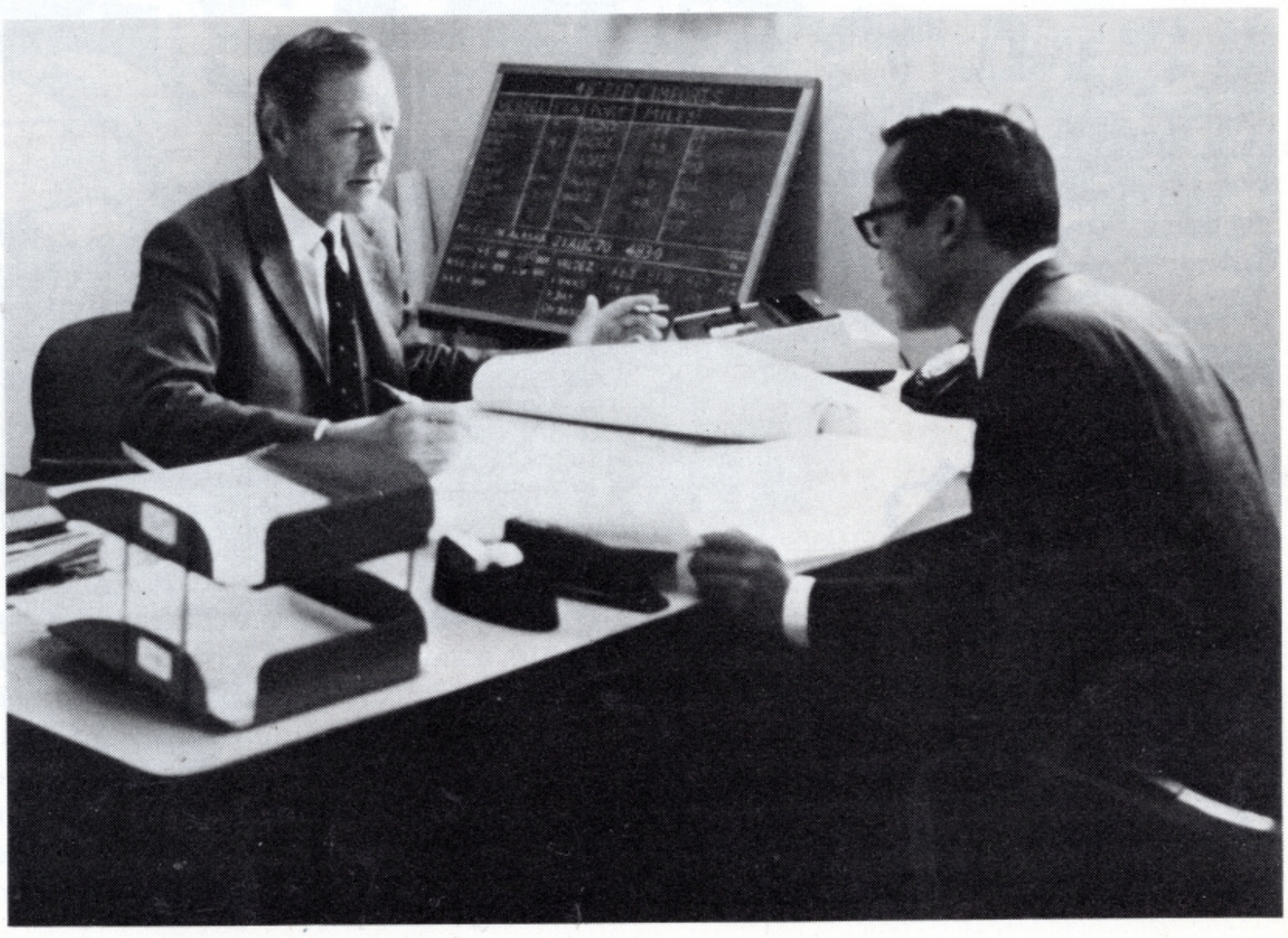
The number of resident businessmen staying overseas for a long period exceeds thirty thousand, and in the case of one big firm, nearly two thousand representatives leave Haneda Airport per annum. Moreover, the advancement of foreign enterprises is becoming active in Japan and opportunities for Japanese businessmen are increasing.

In this way Japanese businessmen at home, and particularly abroad are becoming aware of marked environmental and cultural differences between themselves and foreign businessmen.

The "cultural shock" is a shock to cultural sensibility received by those that come in contact with another different culture. This matter lies in a sphere which has hitherto been ignored or, at best, regarded as a matter of etiquette. But when we consider the international communication which may increase in the future, this should not be neglected.

Much of the environmental and cultural shock the businessmen confront is received in the sphere of business affairs. These often underline the differences of business customs in each country.

For example, the need for punctuality differs from country to country as do business hours and the length and time for taking the lunch period. Appointments are needed in some countries and not in others. It is regarded as taboo to present gifts in some countries while the design of the star or the purple colour are abhorred in others. The differences of culture caused by the history, living circumstances and the concept of religion of each country is reflected in such differences in business customs. The problem of the cultural shock is not particularly a new one. It has been pointed out before by many scholars, such as the American cultural anthro-



pologist, Edward T. Hal, the author of *The Silent Language* and *The Hidden Dimension*.

It is regrettable, however, that the cultural shock is still disregarded or neglected in the business world.

Investment in educational training inside Japanese enterprises is very heavy, yet programmes to counter the environmental and cultural shock have yet to be introduced. Such programmes would be particularly effective to the study and training of the firm men in international business, but the greater part of their study and training is still centered upon the aspect of practical business such as English, accounts, law, delivery, correspondence, etc. It is a fact that the acquisition of knowledge concerning the culture, history, way of life, and manners of countries dealing with Japanese firms is a matter left untouched. That's not all.

Japanese businessmen are often criticized by Westerners as follows: "They are really economic animals. When we talk about business or economic subjects, they are lively, but when the talk is turned to something else, for example, to cultural matters, they are absolutely boring."

There are many Japanese who become taciturn when asked about the works of Mishima Yukio or his suicide, or who become hesitant when asked about Kabuki, saying, "In fact, I haven't seen it yet."

It is said that there are many Japanese businessmen who haven't seen the musicals at Broadway nor the Metropolitan Museum despite their four years' residence in New York.

Here is the point.

From infancy the Japanese have been educated only in practical affairs—an education which continues inside the enterprises they join. They never have rich hours of leisure spending every day as if driven by a need to pass an examination. Therefore, they tend to have only practical business as their strong merit.

But, as the Japanese contact with foreigners increases, such a limited personality comes into question. The bad mixer, the boring Japanese cannot be indefinitely welcomed with a smile. Japanese economic power now induces this smile, but it is better not to expect it to last indefinitely.

It is said that the Japanese are good at selling merchandise but they are bad at buying and selling culture.—How should we cope with such a criticism?

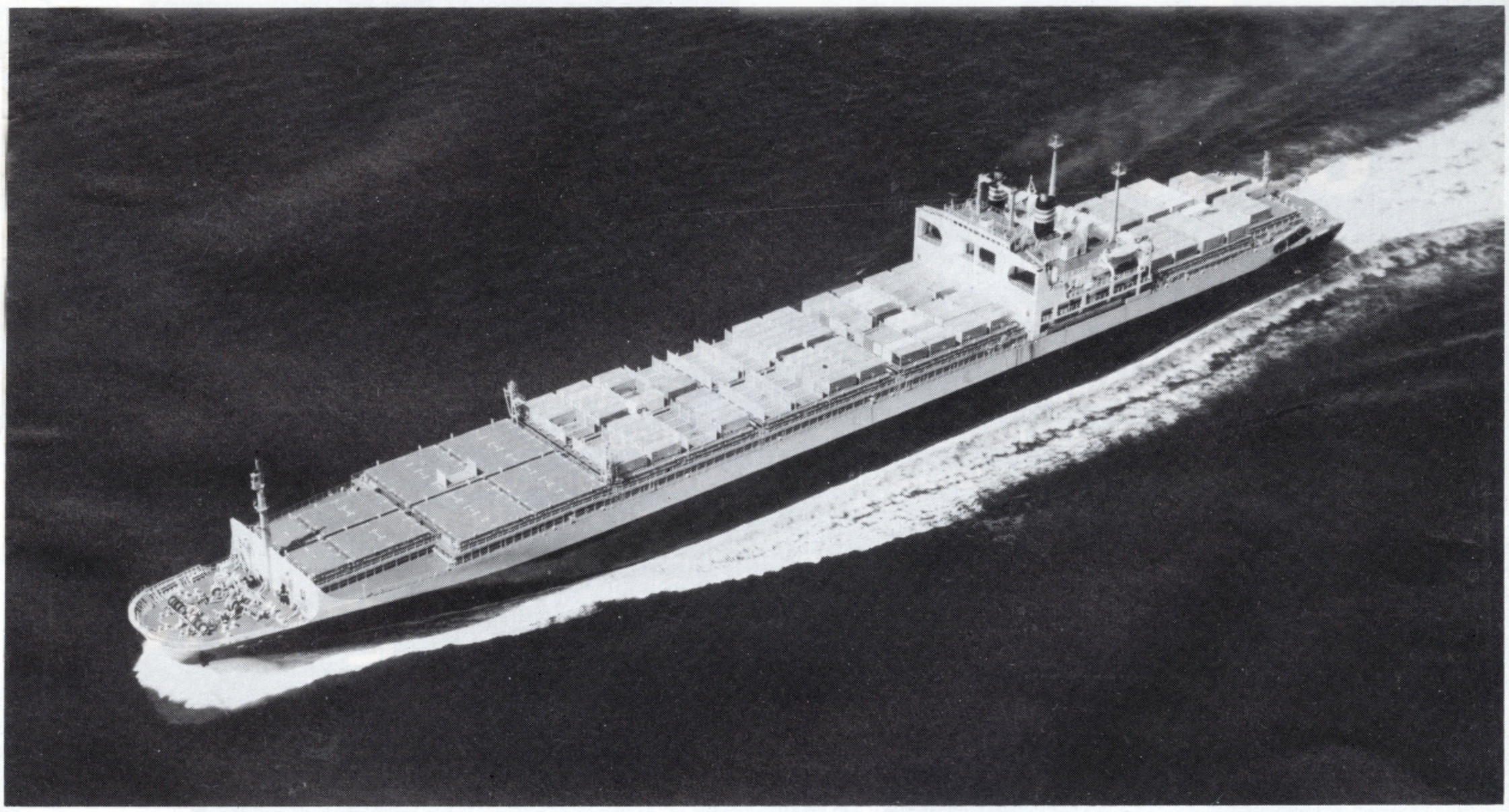
It is necessary before anything else, to change the content of Japanese education, and particularly the education inside enterprises.

Japanese businessmen should learn various foreign customs, learning to "do as the Romans do" and should not only be eloquent on economic matters but on cultural matters also, such as classic public entertainments or the literary works.

However, it may be insufficient just to change the content of education.

It is possible to say that the Japanese who are to cultural shock will not be born until we can fully enjoy a life rich in culture in which we can enjoy Noh and appreciate literature in our leisure hours. 東

NYK LINE



As the world's leading shipping company with more than 85 years' experience, NYK has set up a complete transportation system unsurpassed both in scale and scope, including services for container and various specialized sea transport, to establish a speedy world-wide shipping network, thereby contributing to the growth and development of Japan's foreign trade.

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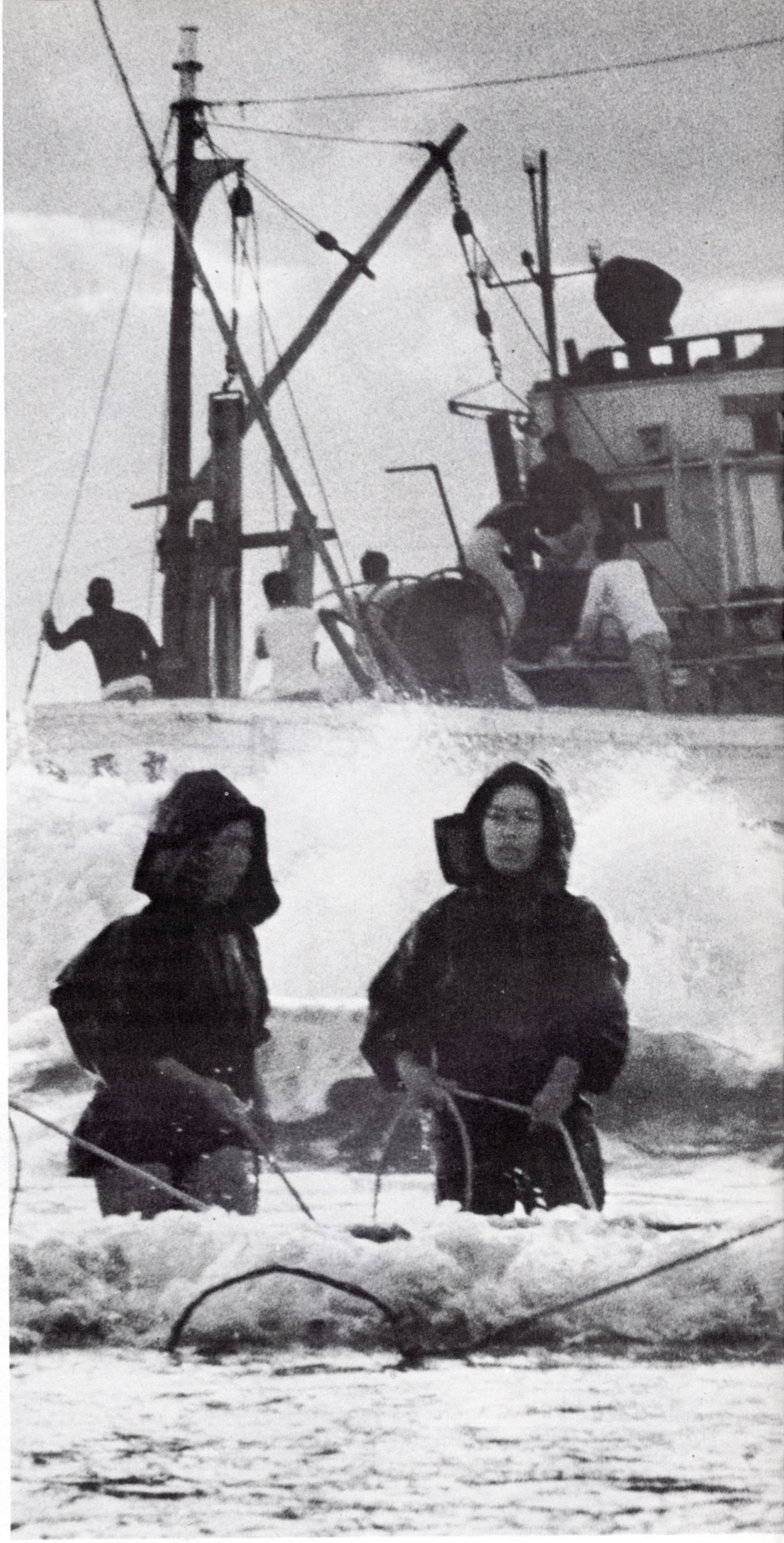
Not a soul is to be seen at Kujūkuri.
Sitting on the sand of the sandy beach
Chieko plays.
Countless friends call Chieko's name—
Chirp, chirp, chirp, chirp, chirp,
Leaving small tracks on the sand,
Plovers come near Chieko,
Chieko, always saying something to
herself,
Calls back with both hands raised—
Chirp, chirp, chirp,
Plovers tease for the shells in her hands
and Chieko scatters a shower of
them.
Flying away in flocks, plovers call
to Chieko—
Chirp, chirp, chirp.
Quitting altogether the business of
being a human,
Chieko had gone back to nature.
(I can see) Chieko's lone back
In the grove of the windbreak 2 chō
(218 m) away,
Covered with the pollen of pine trees.
I stand still til the end of time.

Kujūkuri...A Reminiscent Tale

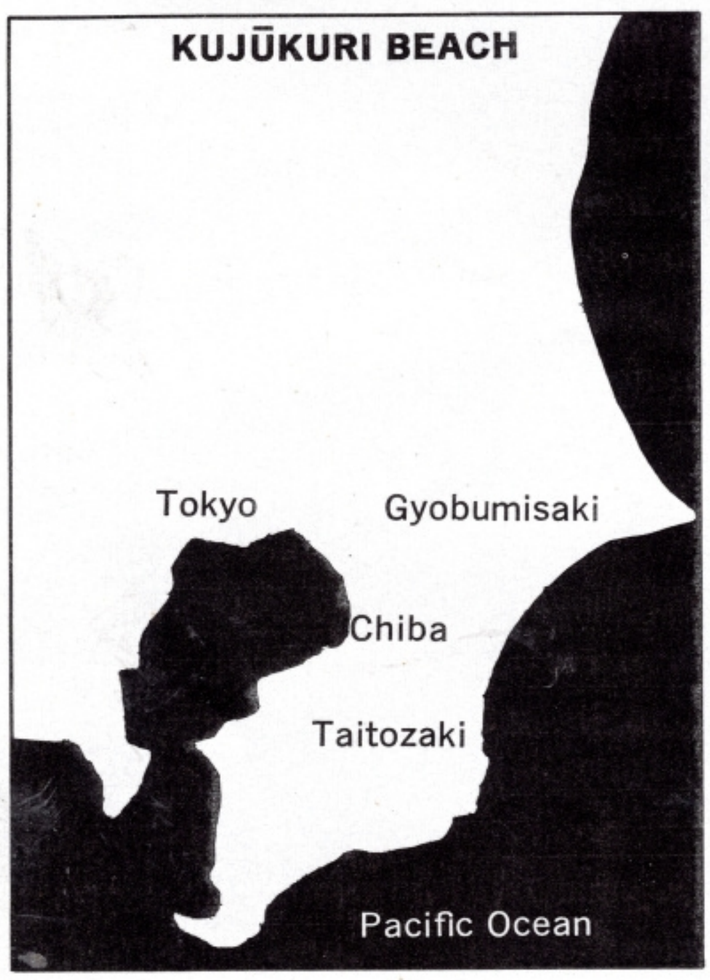
The Kujūkuri Beach (Ninety-nine *ris*—this name expresses the extensiveness of the beach felt by the ancients) where an eminent sculptor and poet, Takamura Kōtarō had dwelled with his insane wife, is a vast sandy beach extending in a huge arc for about 66 km from Taitōzaki on the south to Gyōbumisaki in Iioka on the north.

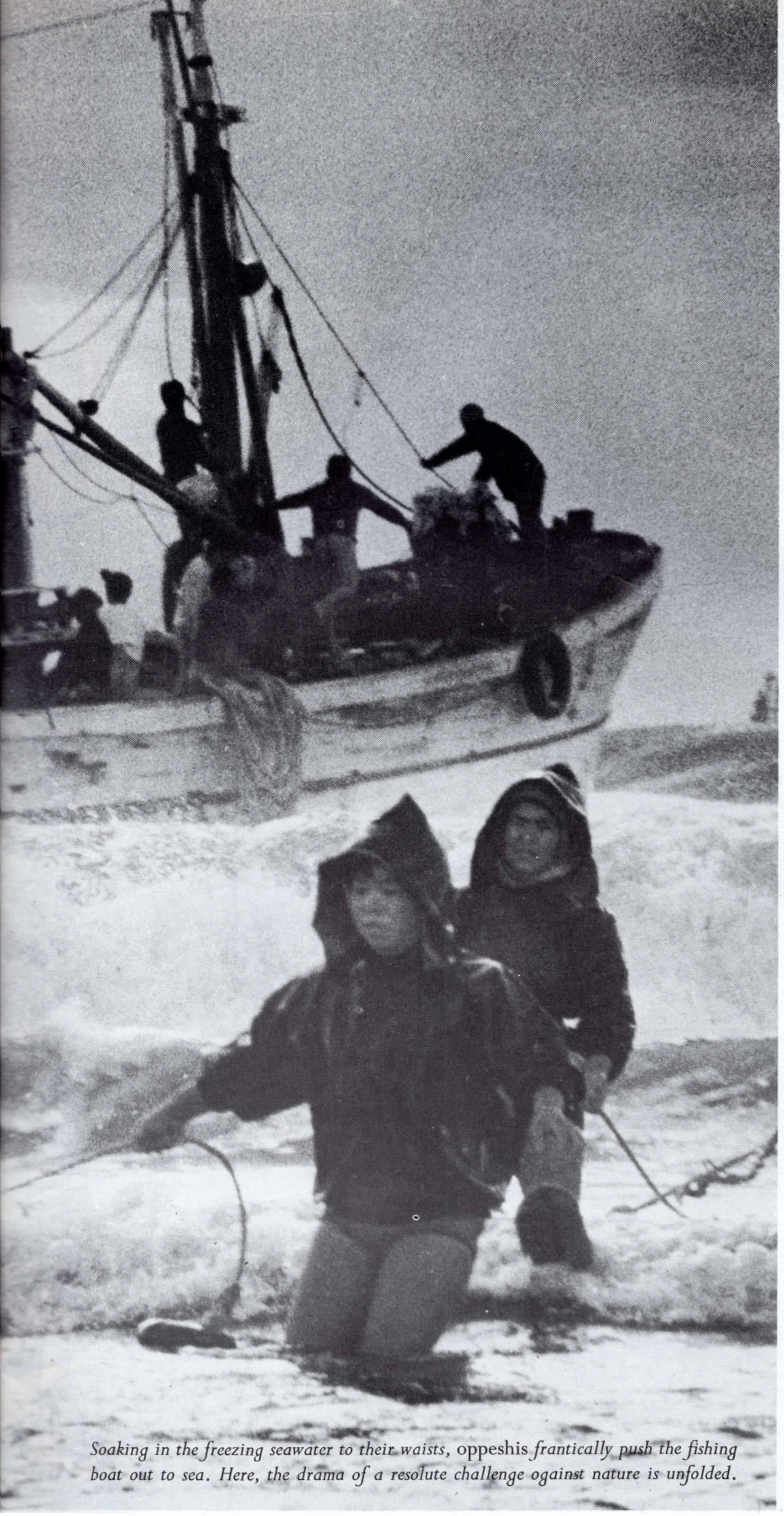
The beach, once crowded with fishermen catching sardines, doesn't present a lively scene now, and plovers flying about in flocks are not seen anymore above the monotonous reefless beach.



Kujūkuri Beach and It's Fishermen

It was never rare at all in Kujūkuri to set out fishing at 3 or 4 o'clock in the early morning. The first *bangi* (a thwacking board for the notice of an assembly)rang vigorously through the beach sinking in the dying darkness and gave





Soaking in the freezing seawater to their waists, oppeshis *frantically push the fishing boat out to sea. Here, the drama of a resolute challenge against nature is unfolded.*

a signal for the commencement of fishing. After a little while, when the second bangi rang, *funakata* (fishermen) and women called "oppeshi" (derived from the word "oppesu" which means to push things) came together heading for the bonfire to warm themselves in the darkness. Soon, when the funakatas were ready to start out, the oppeshis oiled the rollers and pushed the fishing boats over them into the shallow sea some distance from the shore.

The engines of the boats roared in the darkness. Excited voices of funakatas and the screams of the oppeshis crossed the beach, and the beach assumed an aspect of a real battlefield. The busiest season for catching sardines is October through December. The sea water is piercing cold. Sometimes, even at the end of the year, and despite the severe cold, they often sailed out fishing to the rough sea.

The small fishing boats were tossed about like leaves by the raging waves of the Pacific, and creaked as if they were ready to capsize. Anxious about the boats, the oppeshis screamed against the raging waves and shook their fists helplessly. They ran about the beach as if they prayed that the sea might be quiet, and tried to repress their anxiety. When the boats sailed through the waves safely, they would absentmindedly follow the boats becoming smaller in the darkness with their eyes, forgetting that they were chilled to the bone.

In those days, a fishermen's boss kept two purse-seine boats and three jolly-boats, and group of about 60 funakatas and oppeshis. According to custom, when there was a catch, all living expenses such as oil, rice, miso were deducted from the profit of the catch, and 55 percent of the remainder was allotted to the fishermen's boss, and the remaining 45% to the

Jibiki-ryō—*Pull in vigorously with the surging wave, give way half a step as it rolls away—fishermen fish leisurely without opposing the waves.*

Today, one rarely sees an old fishermen wearing the distinctive Kujūkuri dotera.

fishermen. On the day the fishermen sailed out and had no catch, the boss didn't have to pay the fishermen. All the expenses for that day were included in the following catch and could be deducted. When days of poor catch continued, a fishermen's life was naturally miserable. Then, the boss of built tenement houses for the fishermen looked after them, not only by providing rice and miso,

"Shinkōsai" of Dairi Shrine held once every thirteen years, is rare as a divine festival connected with the sea.

Among the folk arts of Japan, one that dramatizes a scene of hell, such as this "Kiraigō," is extremely unusual. ↓

taking care of their but also farms.

In the cold winter evening, when the boats came back from the catch, the sound of the bangi would resound on the beach. At such moments, children from the hills a little away from the beach went running to the beach with *shikkaké* and *tama* to steal sardines. Shikkaké is a right-angled hook made by whetting the end of a thick wire and is used for hooking the fish. Tama is a fish container made by hanging a net on a forked branch of a tree. Since usually the quantity of the catch was ample, people on the beach conceded that it was not really theft for children to take sardines. They simply roared at the children or threw sand at their backs, but seldom took away the fish the children stole.

Such a life of the fishermen has changed with the times. Former life based on rough calculations was improved, and the system of guaranteed minimum wage for fishermen was put into operation 4 or 5 years ago. But this remedy specially proposed by the fishermen's bosses could not overcome the poor catch that struck the beach. The amount of catch kept dropping and the fishermen were picked out one after another by big enterprises. The fishermen bosses of age-long standing disappeared one by one, and now they may be counted on the figures. The oppeshis, who once strenuously pushed the boats in the several cold, soaked in the water to the breast, also stayed away from their usual work on the beach. Now they go one peddling tours to Tōkyō with big bundles on their shoulders.

On the second day of the new year, without fail all funakatas *gather around their fishing nets and hold a ceremony in hopes of a good catch on their first fishing expedition.*

Public Entertainments in Kujūkuri Beach

MANY FESTIVALS and divine services connected with the sea are still held all over the Kujūkuri beach. Among others, the "Kannon (the Goddess of Mercy) Horse" of the Nangū Shrine in Ichinomiya is

one odd festival.

The fete begins with the following function called "torihiki" (dealing). Seaweeds and green soybeans are loaded on horseback. Four young pullers and two masters escort the horse on both sides, and visit the barns of various villages that dot the beach. seaweeds, green soybeans and dried bonitos loaded on horseback are regarded as the buyer's money and on the seller's side, the food given to the horse is regarded as the fish.

The seller approaches the buyer with a proposal, "Since the rice crops on the hills were abundant this year again, and we have had long time dealings, I want you to buy at a high price by all means." The buyer shows disapproval of one thing or another, and the negotiation is not easily terminated. Both men's arguments are really amusing and finally both make concessions and the negotiation comes to a happy settlement. The seller is entertained with a cup of saké, and urges his horse forward to the next barn.

Another festival connected with the sea is "Shinkō-sai" in Nakayari, a riverside fete to pray for a good

The horse, guarded by masters and robust young pullers, gallop along the beach to wards villages for "torihiki."

catch by transferring a miniature shrine from one boat to another.

Among the many festivals that still exist in Kujūkuri, there is an interesting Buddhist play much different from the others called "Kiraigō" which dramatizes infernal scenes for popular public entertainment. The date of origin of this play in literature is not clear. The legend of one village says that in the Kamakura Era, a Buddhist priest Sekioku from the province of Satsuma (present day Kagoshima Prefecture) in Kyūshū, while under training in various provinces, stopped over at Mushō village in Kujūkuri where he had a dream. This dream was dramatized into the "Kiraigō".

At present, the play is held in the precincts of the Kōsaiji temple at Mushō, on July 16th every year. The play is divided into seven scenes and the plot of the play is: The dead who committed evil in this world fall into hell and are judged before the King of Hell. Then, a red demon and a black demon torture them severely, but the Goddess of Mercy appears by the prayers of the dead and extends a helping hand.

Cameraman in Kujūkuri Beach

MR. KOSEKI, a cameraman, born and raised in Kujūkuri, says, "When I was a child, the sea was very beautiful, and the sand glittered dazzlingly in my eyes. The sands were burned by the sun and became so hot I often could not walk on the beach. So I ran quickly down the beach or took a rest brushing aside the hot sand near my feet, and then went into the sea.

Many times, while I took a walk along the beach, I couldn't find my way back, lost in the vast extending sandbeach and pine grove. The sands, which used to shine so brightly, now look dull, and oil and vinyl sheet drift by the beach."

Mr. Koseki Yoshirō was born on a farm in Chiba Prefecture. He has taken pictures for twenty years of nature around Kujūkuri Beach and the fishermen living there. He began photography at seventeen, and has learned it through trial and error, in want of equipment, materials, and an instructor.

The pictures introduced here are only a part of his career.

In addition, Mr. Koseki won the debut prize of the Japan Photograph Association, the only door to professional photography, with his collection of "Kujūkuri". 東

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At the Kujūkuri beach piled with snow, in contrast to the usual brave sight of boats sailing out, the trembling boats huddle close together.

The surface of the sea of Kujūkuri beach that used to sparkle brightly in the morning sun, is now turbid and gives off only a dull light.

Chōjū-giga

Scroll of Caricaturistic Animals and Human Figures
from mid-12th century to early 13th century
30.6 cm high
possession of Kōzan-ji Temple

The Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga is a picture scroll of *haku-byō* (a Japanese painting painted in Indian ink) painted in about the twelfth or thirteenth century and consists of four volumes in all.

The painter of this scroll is said to be Toba Sōjō (1053–1140) but this has not been proved yet. Since each volume is quite different in the style of painting, it is thought to be painted by several painters.

The first volume depicts monkeys, rabbits and frogs playing merrily in imitation of people, from which the name of the Chōjū-giga is derived.

In addition to such animals as horses, cows and cocks, such imaginary animals as *shishis, dragons* and *kylins* appear in the second volume. In this volume the figures are not painted in caricatures as in the first volume. They are sketches drawing precise representations of the objects.

The third volume drolly depicts with rough brushwork caricatures of priests and men enjoying games and playing in high spirits.

There are various interpretations on the meaning of the content of all four volumes but each volume carries no notes, so there is no settled opinion.

The most superb volume of all is the first. Lovely animals are vivaciously painted with individual facial expressions, and the harmony between them and the background landscape and plants is really splendid. The shade of Indian ink is accurately distinguished and the depiction of lines, which are thinly and thickly accentuated, is also skillful. This volume is said to be the finest masterpiece of Japanese hakubyō paintings.

The picture presented here is taken from the first volume. It depicts the scene of monkeys and frog drolling. 東

Aesthetic Consciousness in Masks

by Ogasawara Kyōko,
Lecturer of Seikei University

Men going to play the part of God had to cover their faces with pieces of cloth or chips of wood, so that they might be qualified to do so. This photograph shows a scene of the divine service performed at some district in Hyōgo Prefecture.

Were our Japanese ancestors really trying to express in masks the idea of beauty of their age? Some Noh masks are undoubtedly beautiful even in the eyes of moderns. But properly speaking, the word bewitching is more appropriate than beautiful. I wonder if this tells us that the masks were originally created by people in ancient times as means to disguise themselves as something unworldly.

When people desired to perceive a concrete figure of ancestral gods that visit to bless them from the other world (the ancient Japanese worshipped the souls of family or community ancestors as gods that protect posterity), those who were to be disguised as gods would above all have to first eliminate their actual human forms. Those who obtained qualification to be disguised as gods through "Mono-imi" (to purify oneself by fasting and calming oneself for a certain period of time) first had to hide their faces. Accordingly, it is possible to say that masks originally began in order to cover the human face than to create another image.

The materials used to hide the faces of those acting as gods were at first simply some plants and seaweeds, and then progressed to barks of trees, cloth, and pieces of boards. The masks started bearing faces at the end of this progress when fantastic features of the unworldly came to be depicted on these materials. Judging from such a birth process of the mask, it is natural that

*The "*Hikoza *Hood" which people put on when they dance at the* Bon *festival in Akita Prefecture.*

mystery in them.

It is generally explained that Japanese masks appeared for the first time in Noh masks that came into existence during the Muromachi Era (1392–1573).

This explanation thus excludes the grotesque featured masks used in *Gigaku* (a mask dance drama that appeared in ancient India-Tibet district and introduced to Japan by people of Pekche in 612) and *Bugaku* (a musical dance introduced mainly from China by way of the Korean Peninsula to Japan in the 8th century and still performed today as a classical dance in Japan) which preceded Noh, because they are of foreign origin. However, this viewpoint is based strictly on observation of relics remaining in the main stream of history (namely, the

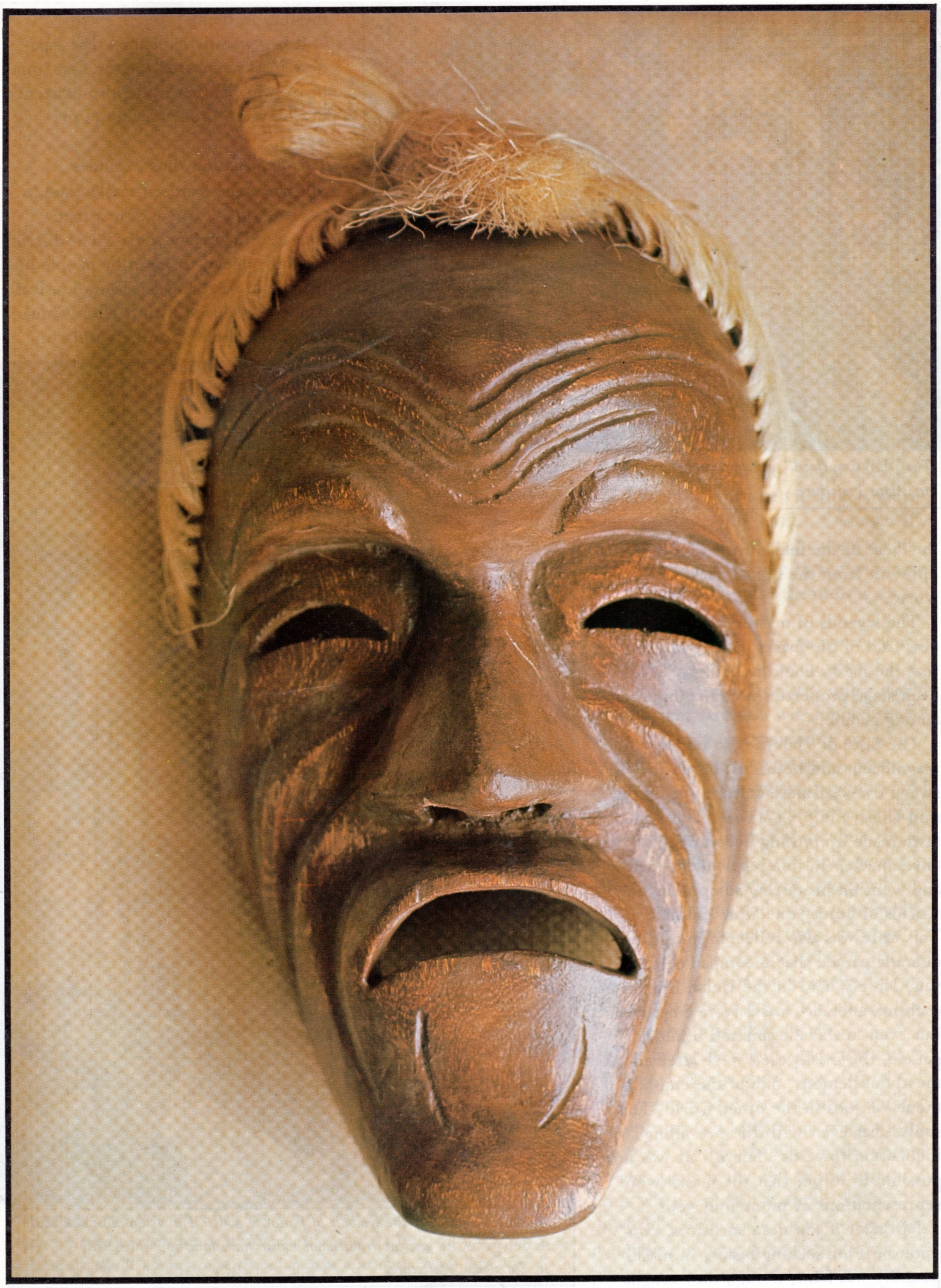
the faces of the masks were absolutely different from the human faces of this world.

The legends of mystery and strangeness told of the masks give vivid proof that the masks could not simply have been stage properties used for disguises among people.

The taste of "Furyū" (to be elegant, magnificent and beautiful) began to sweep over Japanese culture during the mid-Heian Era (794–1191). This taste made everything decorative, enveloped them in a resplendent idea and went on producing sumptuous new worlds of beauty one after another. This taste was also reflected in a masquerade parade that accompanied festivals, largely held in the Heian Era. In such masquerade, masks were employed. But even in this elegant and beautiful parade, the masks used were after all mostly of demons, one of the embodiments of gods in the other world. This shows that even with the prevailing inclination towards "Furyū," it was not possible to forget that the masks were representations of monstrous gods.

I wonder if Japanese ancestors' consciousness for seeking beauty in masks possibly was faint, though they sought

Masks were formerly the symbols of fantastic gods. This is an old mask used in dengaku, *or ancient traditional music and dancing, which still in Shizuoka Prefecture.*



Masks representing the faces of an old man and woman called "angama" in Okinawa. Photographs by Yamanouchi Tokio

world of the ruling class of each period the Court aristocrats). It is not true to say that people outside the Court did not know the mask or its use. But it is possible to say that Noh masks were the first to get away from fantastic masks that were grotesque, or primitive yet divine, as representations of other world gods, and to attempt to express the ideal form of this world—that is, aesthetic consciousness—in the masks. Seen from the history of expressions of aesthetic consciousness in masks, Noh masks certainly came first of all. The point of remarkable difference between Noh masks and other groups of masks is that in Noh masks there is a quality that refects human forms of this world. Among Noh masks, the beauty of Japanese masks is concentrated in those modeled after women—for example, *Ko-omoté* (the smallest of Noh masks, a young women) and *Fukai* (a mask of a middle-aged women, expressing mad women).

Those other than Noh masks—for example, the female masks used in *Den-gaku* (a dance performed on occasions of farming ceremonies such as planting, accompanied by songs and a performance of flutes and hand-drums, which began in the Heian period). *Saru-gaku* (a humorous dance drama centering around mimicry and verbal accomplishments, and said to be a prototype of Noh and Noh farce, *Kyōgen*, also performed in the Heian Era), or *Kagura* (a bugaku performed in private shrines to worship a god, still performed today) do not impress us with the beauty contained in Noh masks. We cannot absolutely decide whether the reason for this was because their technique was primitive—though they imitated Noh masks—or because they sustained the ancient technique used before the appearance of Noh masks. At any rate, the beauty attained by Noh masks was unique and exceptional in the stream of Japanese masks. After Noh masks, no new masks appeared. It may be said that the art which was meant to represent the

Ko-omoté—*A* Noh *mask representing the face of a young woman; the smallest size of his kind. In such a female mask as this we can sense the beauty of Japanese masks expressed in a highly concentrated form.*

Waka-onna—*Mask of a young and noble woman. Used only by the kanzé school of Noh.*

Fukai—*Mask of a middle-aged woman. Also used to represent a lunatic woman.*

Courtesy of Hinoki Bookstore
Kanze school head family

other world, began to turn to this world by shaking off their masks.

Though masks of Noh do not have grotesque features, they are nevertheless symbols of otherworldly existence. For example, a woman in a Noh play, though she doubtlessly has the form of a woman of this world, is in fact nothing but a temporary form of something otherworldly in visit. A *waki* (supporting actor in Noh play), the representative of human beings in this world, never puts on a mask. Also, it is often imagined that the production of Noh masks may have had some sort of connection with craftsmen who carved Buddhist images. The statues of Amida Bodhisattva and Kannon (Goddess of Mercy)—that came close to the form of a woman in the end as a result of the search for an image of mercy for those Buddhist statues that were supposed to be existences beyond sex—and the women masks of Noh could not have been unrelated in their craftsmanship and aesthetic consciousness.

When we think about the beauty of masks, we must not forget that within a variety of beauty in the human world, the criteria changing most enormously according to the times, is of human features—especially the beauty of the female face. There are something we can't understand even in *Waka-onna* (young pretty female mask) and *Ko-omote* that are thought to be the most beautiful of Noh masks unless we get away from the present standard of the female beauty.

In fact, this may not be due to the distance of time but a difference of dimension. That is to say, contrary to Buddhist statues which sought for embodiments of the idea in the world of the dead and ultimately were expressed by returning to beauty in this world, Noh masks, in attempting to express the beauty and emotions of the females of this world, went back to the otherworldly forms which are the original forms of the masks. 東

(from Dentō to Gendai)

September

THE JAPANESE Islands are struck by typhoons accompanied by strong rainstorms from the end of August to September. The typhoon is a tropical storm created in the south near the equator which advanced north and in connection with atmospherie prossures, strikes the Japanese Islands a number of times at this time every year.

According to the Japanese calendar, *Nihyakutōka* and *Nihyakuhatsuka* that respectively fall on the two hundred-tenth day and the two hundred-twentieth day counting from the first day of spring (February 3rd or 4th), are thought to be the days when the typhoon is most likely to strike, but those large-scale typhoons which cause great havoc are more frequent towards the end of September.

Ordinarily each year, after a few large typhoons have left their curel traces somewhere in the Japanese Islands (usually southern Japan), October sets in and autumn comes to Japan in earnest. Since the air is dry, the sky clears to a vivid blue. This period has the most comfortable weather throughout the year in Japan. Making use of the clear skies of autumn, people try to recuperate from the heat of summer by hiking and sporting, or dry and repair clothes that tended to dampen with the summer moisture.

Viewing the Moon

ALTHOUGH TODAY is a day when man stands on the moon and the mystery of the moon is being slowly unveiled, the divine beauty of the moon hanging in the nightsky is still unchanged. The moon has been celebrated in songs and poems from ancient times, together with snow and flowers, as expressing the beauty of the seasons, and is essential to the Japanese world of sentiment.

Due to the clearness of the air, the full moon in September looks especially brilliant and beautiful. Because of this, it has been said from ancient days that although there are many months in which to admier the moon, the best month is September.

The Japanese have a custom of decorating Japanese pampas grass at the window with the best view of the moon, offering fruit and sweet potatoes, and dumplings made of rice flour served on a ceremonial stand to the moon on this night.

This custom, as many others of Japan, was introduced from China but in China, watermelons and *geppeis* (Chinese bean-jam buns) seem to have been offered to the moon.

According to old records, the moon viewing feast held by Emperor Daigo in 897 was the start of this custom. The aristocrats in the Heian era didn't make offerings to the moon as the people of today. On this night, they composed poems, sang songs and played wind and stringed instruments under the full moon. This admiration of the moon was a very elegant social occasion of banqueting and entertaining.

The following poem "Tonight is the full moon and the moon is shining clearly. Looking at the moon, I think about my friend in the remote place." by Po Chu-i of Tang was loved by the aristocrats of the Heian era. This is a poem in which the moon is sung as a possessor of the mysterious power of making man think of the past and future by transcending time and space, and also making him think of a person gone far away. This sentiment towards the beauty of the moon did not die with the Heian aristocrats but is still felt by the Japanese today.

The elegant aristocratic custom of moon viewing, as time progressed, came to be followed by both samurai and townsmen. Among the farmers, moon viewing took on another meaning and came to be connected with thanksgiving for the autumn harvest. The simple custom of offering Japanese pampas grass, dumplings and fruit to the moon is a popularization of this farmers' custom.

But elegance has not been lost completely.

Sarashina village in Shinshu (Nagano Prefecture) is a place noted from ancient times for viewing the moon. The moon in this place is called "the moon in every rice paddy." This name originated from the fact that a square of ricefield on the slope of the mountains is minutely divided into 48 sections and the moon is reflected in each section. About 1927, a certain banker in Osaka came to Sarashina and paid for a acre of rice. He had the farmers reap immature rice plants and fill the paddies with water, and then for three days he held the moon viewing feast. It is said however, that he was the last to view the moon in such a way at Sarashina, and that a man of such refined tastes will no longer appear.

← *Photograph by Maeda Shinzō*

Respect for the Aged Day

THE FIFTEENTH of September is named "The Day to Respect the Aged." This is a day when people love and respect the aged and congratulate them on their longevity. The day was added to the list of national holidays in 1966.

At what age is one considered to have become "aged"?

Four hundred years ago, Oda Nobunaga, a hero in the period of civil wars, sang "Life is only 50 years. . ." before going to war, but since that time, human longevity has extended, and the average span of a present day Japanese is 70.17 for men and 75.58 for women. (according to 1972 statistics).

Since it depends on each person when they can be considered "aged", it is hard to generalize, but in Japan, there is the celebration of "Kanreki" (one's 60th birthday), and from the age of sixty people seem to be first treated as "aged." According to the system of naming years in the Japanese calendar of ten celestial stems and twelve horary signs, "Kanreki" signifies ones rebirth as a baby since on the sixtieth year one calendar cycle is spent and the sign of the year of one's birth comes around again. There is a custom of presenting to those reaching their Kanreki a red sleeveless kimono jacket and cap that symbolize babies. Nowadays, however, there are many sixty year olds still bale and hearty, and many get out of humour when they are forced to join a group of the aged on this day of celebration.

After "Kanreki", there are other celebrations for longevity such as the "Koki" at 70, "Kiju" at 77, "Beiju" at 88 and "Hakuju" at 99. The children and grandchildren party for the aged.

In this way, certain ages are celebrated as special years in Japan. Conversely, certain ages in life are regarded as critical. These critical ages are called *Honyakudoshi* (actual critical age) and the year before is called *Maeyakudoshi* (the year preceding a critical age) and the year after is called *Atoyakudoshi* (the year following a critical age). For men, honyakudoshi are 25 and 42 and for women 19 and 33. Extreme disasters may befall those in their critical years, and many still seek to protect themselves from evil by worshipping at shrines or temples, refraining from active life and living quietly.

However, when asked the reason why these years are thought to be critical, some point to the configuration of fortunetelling, or to a theory of the science of divination, but somehow doesn't clarify things. Some declare, they are no other than a game of Japanese punning like 19 (Jūku) is 重苦 (Jūku) which literally means heavy pain and 33 (Sanjusan) is terrible (散々 Sanzan) and 42 (Shijūni) is deathly (死に Shini).

Once someone searched for some valid reason but he found that a critical age exists every third year after birth and until 100 it exists as many as 34 times. And if

Maeyaku and Atoyaku and added to this 34 Honyakus, what a wonder! There is no year which is not critical from birth to ones 100th birthday. It was so ridiculous he stopped studying it.

When we think about present day life of civilization, there is always a possibility that disasters will befall us wherever we are, whatever we do and whatever we don't do. So, it may be the wisdom of living to spend a modest life with the view of having a critical age every year without thinking it unscientific.

Japanese and Reading

THE FIRST week in October—the vest season is neither hot nor cold and is called the reading week, in which the custom of reading books is encouraged.

According to recent statistics, the amount of books published in Japan is 570 million books per annum, and it follows that one Japanese reads five books a year. There are not many countries in the world where books are published and read on this scale. Probably, the Japanese are the most book-loving people in the world.

Foreigners in Japan often say "The Japanese like reading, I dare say." they are probably surprised to see quite a lot of people reading paperbacks—aside from newspapers and magazines—even in their notoriously jam-packed trains each morning and evening in Tōkyō.

However, the Japanese devotion to books did not begin with the modern era. In the Edo Period, paperback novels, a prototype of present day popular literature, were fairly widely read among the townsmen. The Japanese seem to have enjoyed reading books from ancient times.

Why did the Japanese come to like reading so much? A noted sociologist Mr. Katō Hidetoshi analyzes it as follows:

> "It is deeply connected with the civil officials' superiority in the Tokugawa Shōgunate. The custom of giving high value to not only books but writing on the whole, pervaded among the people of the people of the Tokugawa Shōgunate. As for the Tokugawa Period, many people imagine it to be a bloody era of government by samurais. Certainly, the governors were samurais, but it is a misconception to think that the period was full of bloody struggles. The Tokugawa Shōgunate is frequently depicted as a society governed by the sword both on the screen and in novels, but this was for only a short period of time until the Tokugawa Regime became stabilized. After the mid-Tokugawa Period, a man of muscle good at sword-play

lost his influence in the samurai society. It was not the military officials but the vicil officials and those able officials, educated and good at figures, who began to acquire power. In other words, to succeed in the Tokugawa political structure was through reading books and perfecting one's abilities as a civil official."

The custom of reading in Japan didn't originate from the samurais of the Tokugawa Shōgunate. Before

this, the townsmen of Tokugawa Period, especially the wealthy merchants, were eagerly forming groups of bookmen.

Today, what are called Saga Books remain in the temples or old families. These books composed the Suminokura library, founded by a wealthy merchant in Kyōto in the early Edo era. Rhese are luxurious books with five colors of papers and printed with wood blocks, consisting of such typical Japanese classics as The Tale of Genji, The Tale of Isé, The Waka Collection of Kokin and the Waka Collection of Shin Kokin.

Of course, not all townsmen read books. People who bought and read these de luxe books were wealthy merchants of Kyōto. There is no doubt that the value of books slowly elevated among the townsmen, with these Saga Books as the turning point.

As a result of the reading custom of the townsmen, the samurai class

came to read books. In this way a part of samurai belief was eroded by the townsmen. The samurai, who at first considered reading books as effeminate, noticed that they could not otherwise achieve the political and economic managerial ability which the townsmen had acquired through reading books.

When the governors came to read books, the masses also read books. Various kinds of paperback storybooks were published and read among the masses. Soon temple schools developed (cf. Vol. IX, No. 3) since it was usual to teach children reading and writing from early childhood.

The present day Japanese enthusiasm for reading has this cultural historical tradition, and to read books is thought to be uncouditionally good. If an adult reads at least ten books per year, a family of 4 reads 40 books per year, and 200 books in five years. Most houses have book cases with scores of books. A wife of a salaried man, when she visited a scholar's study, saw books arranged in a book case and said, "My family has more books than this!" As seen in this illustration, the desire to collect books is strong even among the general population. The main reason why the Japanese public libraries are much poorer in number and quality than in Western countries is because individual desires for collecting books have been stronger in Japan from ancient times. 東

Kanmu...The Emperor Afflicted with Ghosts

by Yonekura Isamu

Portrait of Emperor Kanmu (Shiga Prefecture, possession of Enryaku-ji Temple)

Whoever visits the old city of Kyōto will notice that its streets divide the city like the lines of a Go board. The basis of this division was made when the capital was established at this place in 794. Since that time, Kyōto has flourished as the capital and seat of the Imperial Court for over a millenium, until the transfer of the capital to Tōkyō in 1868. Thus Kyōto had been the center of Japanese Culture until the 17th century. The man who founded Kyōto is the hero of the article, Emperor Kanmu.

Emperor Kanmu, three years after his enthronement, transferred the capital which had been in Nara, to Nagaoka (outside the present city of Kyōto), and ten years later, transferred it again to the present Kyōto. The motive of this transfer was not simply that of geographical considerations. One of the biggest motive was that the Emperor wanted to escape from the ghosts with which he was afflicted throughout his life. These were the ghosts of Kanmu's political enemies, including his own brother, whom he had vanished and forced into death after his enthronement.

According to ancient Japanese Legends, the soul of a man who had died a natural death kept an eye on posterity's life from the other world as a genial ancestral soul, but that of a man who had met a violent death while leaving a grudge behind him had a deep attachment to this world and sometimes manifested their furious curse by reframing to earth as ghosts. Above all, this was strongly believed by the general public in the days of Emperor Kanmu. Though an Emperor, Kanmu was not an exception.

A Humble Lineage

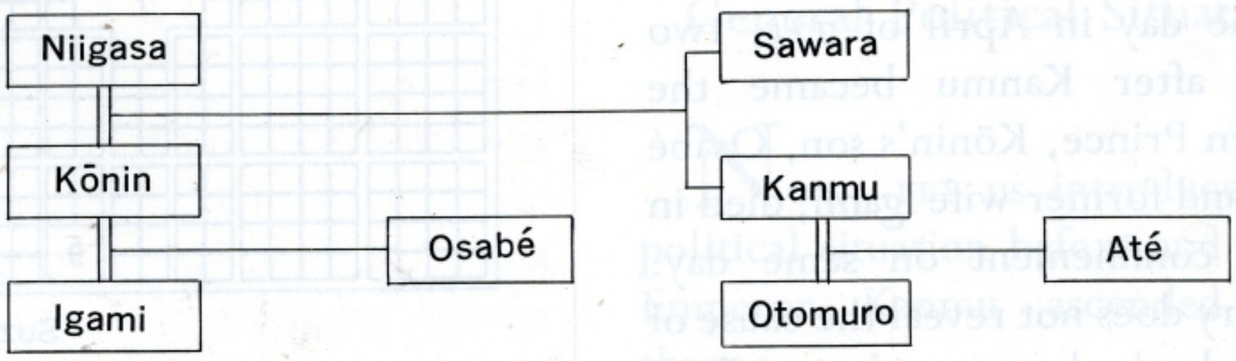
KŌNIN, FATHER of Kanmu, ascended the throne when Kanmu was thirty-three years old. Emperor Kōnin was troubled by the fact that the Imperial Family always had a bloody struggle over the choice of a successor, and therefore he decided to designate his successor immediately after his enthronement in order to avoid this. He had three boys. Since Kanmu (his name until the enthronement was Yamabé no Ō) was the eldest son, normally, he would have been the unobjectionable choice. However, his father, Emperor Kōnin, did not choose his eldest son, Kanmu, but designated his third son, Osabé no Ō, then only ten years old, as the Crown Prince (successor to the throne). It was 771, the year after his enthronement. Kōnin may have wanted to choose Kanmu, but there were circumstances which impeded it. The reason for Kanmu's disqualification Kanmu's (and the second son's) mother was not a legal wife of Emperor Kōnin but also because she was of a humble family decended from a naturalized Korean. On the other hand, Igami, mother of the third son, Osabé no Ō, was a legal wife of Kōnin and daughter of an Emperor. Since this was a time when much importance was attached to a person's lineage and birth, Kōnin unavoidably did so, too.

Osabé no Ō had never been attached to father and was always disobedient. After he became the Crown Prince, he rebuked high officials whom his father made much of and seems to have desired the dethronement or death of his father so that his own reign would come. His mother felt the same as the son. Hostility between the two mother and son, and the dignitaries close to the Emperor gradually became more pronounced. One incident took place within this hostile situation.

Igami, the legal wife of the Emperor, was arrested by the Imperial Court (centralized political power with the Emperor as a head) in Nara, in March 772, on the grounds that she had been secretly placing a "noroi" to pray to god that an evil might befall the man against whom a person has a grudge on her husband for over a year. This arrest was made on the basis of a given by Fujiwara no Momokawa, Kōnin's close attendant. (The Empress had led a life of a "Miko", or virgin in the service of a shrine, at Isé Shrine for about twenty years until she married Emperor Kōnin at the age of 31). Two months after this arrest, her son, Osabé no Ō, was also sentenced to deposition for the same crime as his mother. In October of the next year, Emperor Kōnin isolated and confined his own wife and son outside the city of Nara.

The new Crown Prince had to be chosen since Osabé no Ō was deposed. A strong recommendation by Fujiwara no Momokawa

Genealogy of Emperor Kanmu

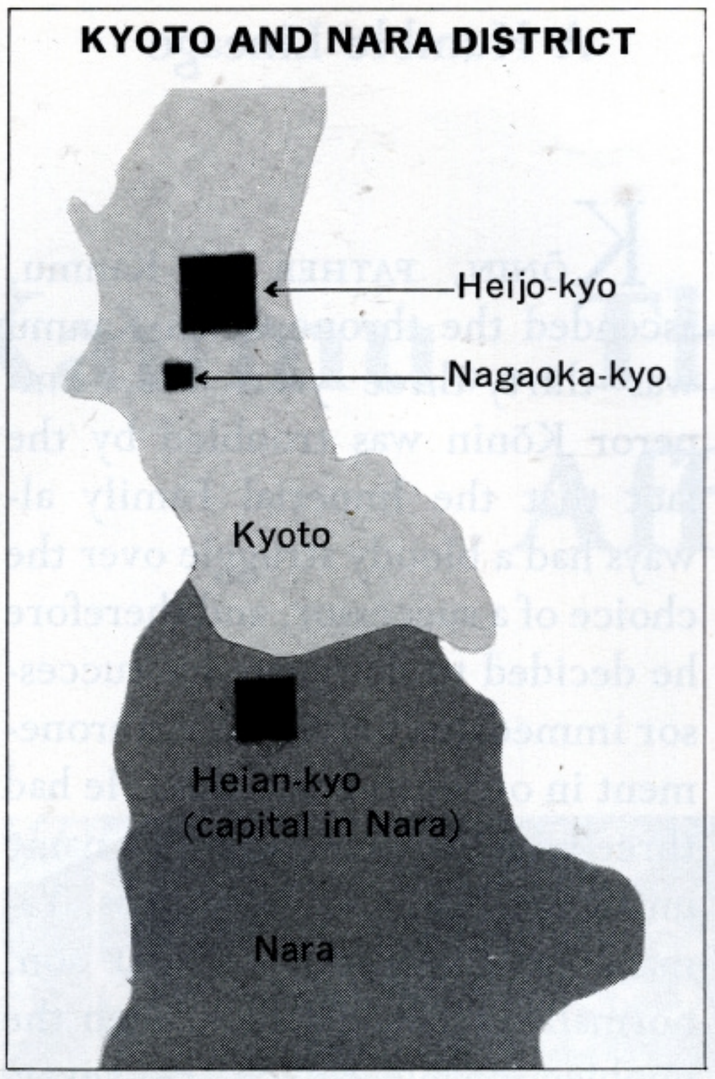


held weight and Yamabé no Ō (later Emperor Kanmu) was chosen as the Crown Prince, though ordinarily he could not have considered for the throne because of his mother's humble lineage.

The Insecure Throne

YAMABÉ NO Ō is said to have been strongly built and tall as a young man. He liked the military arts (archery) and above all, the stirring field sport in which dogs were run and hawks set free to chase game—hawking—the best. According to historical records, he was "not fond of literary arts". Though he wasn't attracted to the way of learning, he didn't wholly disregard it. When he was twenty nine years old, he obtained the office of "Daigaku no Kami". (chief of the board to supervise scholars, students and men of letters, and a post in which a scholar guide the students and judges their grades himself) to which no one could aspire without a high level of learning. Nothing else is known about Kanmu's young days. Certainly, had it not been for the deposition of the Empress and the Crown Prince, it would be uncertain how he had felt about his circumstance in which he could not become the Crown Prince though he was the eldest son because of his humble birth, since Kanmu never expressed his desires. It was not kanmu, but the close attendants of the Emperor who had wanted Kanmu to become the Crown Prince.

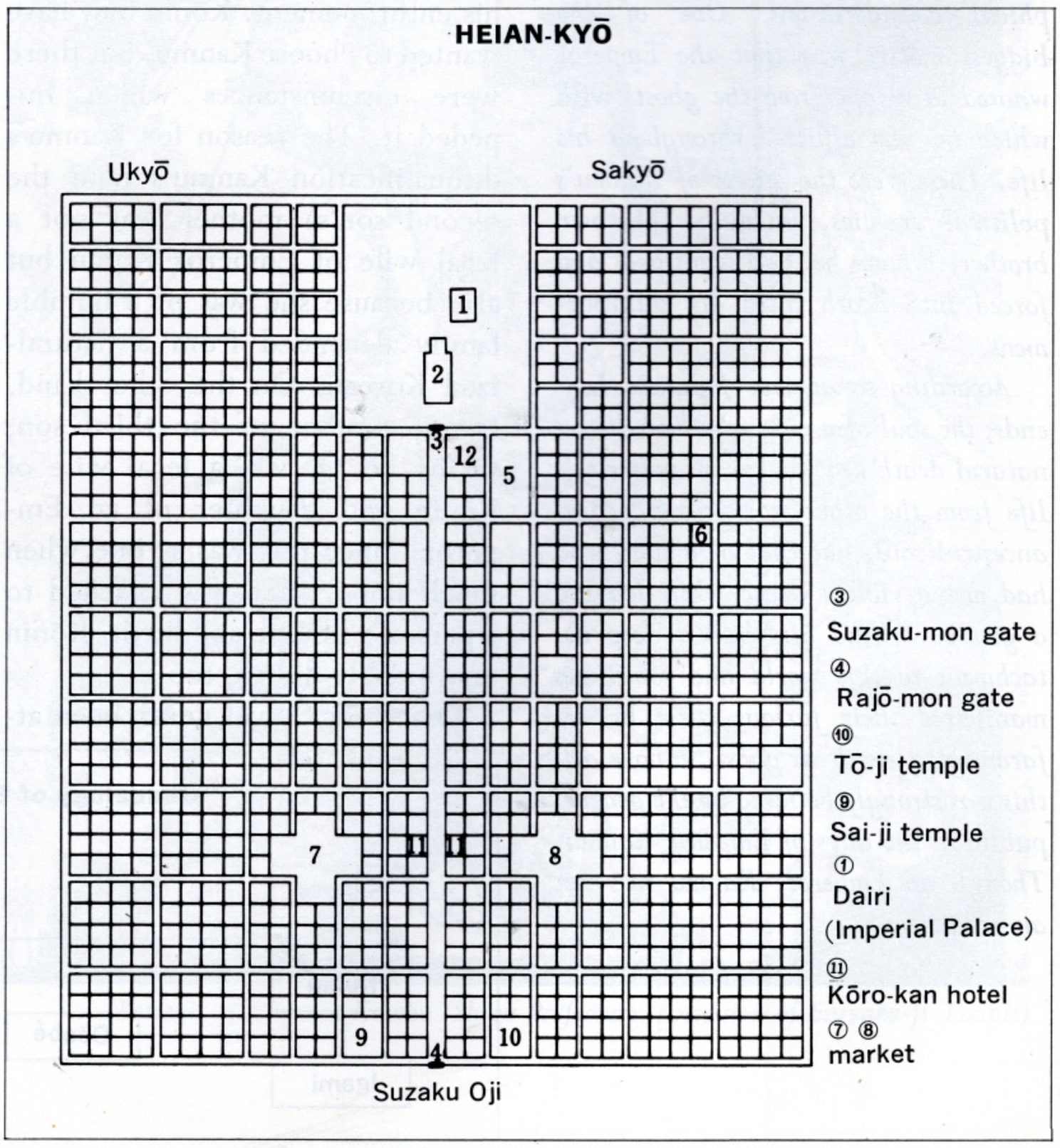
One day in April of 775, two years after Kanmu became the Crown Prince, Kōnin's son, Osabé noŌ and former wife Igami, died in their confinement on same day. History does not reveal the cause of their death, but considering their



dual death, it may have been a suicide, an execution by the authorities of the Imperial Court, or murder by their enemies.

Kanmu had nothing to do with the deposition resulting from the incident of Noroi, but the death of his stepmother and half brother must have its shadow over him. Two years after this incident, a man bearing the name of Osabé no Ō, who ought to have died, appeared in the province of Suō (present day Yamaguchi Prefecture) and made the Imperial Family uneasy. The Imperial Court immediately captured this man and exiled him to an island in Izu.

781 April, Emperor Kōnin had become so old (72) he abdicated his throne to Kanmu, and died soon after. Kanmu was fourty-four at the time, but he was favoured with such an unequaled amount of good health that he plunged himself into the job of governing burning with youthful ardor. Kanmu designated his younger brother, Sawara no Ō, as his successor in accordance with the former Emperor's (his dead father's) will.



There was an air of insecurity about the new Emperor Kanmu. There were people in the Imperial Court who had supported Osabé no Ō and Empress Igami and they felt highly dissatisfied with Kanmu's enthronement. The new Emperor and his close high officials kept a strict watch on the movements of these opponents, driven by suspicion and uneasiness.

Under this strict watch, the year of the enthronement passed without any incident. However, one day in January of the following year, 782, a man intruded into the Court, and was detected and caught. Under the questioning of the officials of the Imperial Court, he exposed a plan of rebellion by his master, Hikami no Kawatsugu, who was plotting to overthrow the Imperial Court by gathering fellow conspirators and breaking into the Imperial Palace. This man named Hikami no Kawatsugu was a member of the Imperial Family, and a nephew of Empress Igami. He thought since he was descended from the Imperial Family, he ought to have succeeded to the throne rather than Kanmu. In those days when a statute concerning the succession to the throne was not yet established, more than two applicants often appeared and incurred confusion because only lineage and blood were a proof of the right of succession. Kawatsugu set about capturing the throne by force. He must have belived that this was not a rebellion but a legitimate move to recover the throne.

The Imperial Court presently caught Kawatsugu and his wife who were attempting to go into hiding, and exiled them to an island in Izu. Since the leading man in this incident was a member of the Imperial Family, the suspicions of the Imperial Court began to spread fairly widely over the high officials. Anyone even slightly suspicious were punished (divestiture of rank, etc.) one after another. Among those arrested some were punished on the grounds that they had tried to curse (*noroi*) Emperor Kanmu to death.

Statue of Waké no Kiyomaro who had been the emperor's main support during the transfer of capital to Heian-kyō. It stands in the outer garden of the Imperial Palace.

At that time Emperor Kanmu was in mourning for his father and was leading a restricted life. The news of exposure of the rebellion by a member of the Imperial Family caused havoc in Kanmu's mind in mourning. And yet, what gave Kanmu feelings of uneasiness was not only this incident. Soon after this incident was disposed of, chief retainers under joint signature reported to Kanmu as follows.

"Recently, many natural disasters have occurred and mysterious symptoms have appeared. So we ordered "shingikan" (a government officer in charge of matters relating to Shintoism and supervising shrines throughout the country) and "Onyōryō" (a public office in charge of astronomy and divination) to divine, and it became clear that, the ancestral god of the Imperial Household (Amaterasu Ōmi Kami), along with many other gods are bearing curses. The cause of the curse is that since the Emperor has been mourning too long for the former Emperor, matters relating to Shintoism has been hindered. The Emperor will probably fall ill if he doesn't cease mourning."

Haunted as he was by all the importunate events which appeared around him in rapid succession, Kanmu accepted this advice and shortened the scheduled three years' mourning to ten mouths.

General Political Situation

Now, let us introduce the political situation before and after Emperor Kanmu ascended the throne.

Remains of Rajōmon that had made the people's eyes open up in wonder during it's best days, is now deserted.

Japan had adopted the Ritsuryō system (to govern the land and people by law) following the administrative system of Tang after the capital was established in Nara in 710. This system respected the Emperor as the Sovereign head of a united country. What was assimilated from Tang however was not only the plitical system. They strived to acquire Tang culture actively by sending envoys to the Tang Court. Above all, under the states protection, Buddhism from China flourished. Styles in architecture, sculpture, painting and industrial arts, with characteristics of Buddhist art were developed through high technical training. Historians call this culture of the early Nara Period the Tenpyō Culture. However, this culture was not limited to assimilations. As the foundation of the Ritsuryō administration was fixed firmly, the creative desire for culture, supported by a high national consciousness, became strong. Out of this trend, the oldest existing anthology of poems, "Manyōshū" (a collection of 4500 various waka poems composed during four hundred years up to 795, the oldest historical book, "Kojiki" (the Ancient Chronicle, 712) plus a second historical work "Nihon Shoki" (Chronicle of Japan, 720) and a record of geographical descriptions were compiled. Thus indigenous culture also flourished.

In the second half of the 8th century, Buddhism became corrupted, attaching too much importance on prayers and incantations, while the priests themselves became absorbed in acquiring private properties, neglected their proper work of spreading the Buddhist spirit among the people, and began to take an active part in politics. Since the Taika Reform of 645, Japan had adopted the "Kōchi Kōmin System" in which both the land and the people were regarded as the possession of the nation—that is, the Emperor, thus private possession was not allowed. But the Kōchi Kōmin System was collapsing due to the degenerate activities of the priests. Furthermore since the building expenses of the temples constructed in various areas of Japan when Buddhism was flourishing (the first half of the 8th century) could not be covered by national expenses, the Emperor turned to aristocrats or powerful clans for financial assistance. However, these aristocrats and powerful clans contributed only on the condition that their right to private possession of land be conceded. This state of affairs also gave stimulus to the collapse of the Kōchi Kōmin System. On the other hand, farmers who had groaned under the excessive burden of the Ritsuryō System escaped and wandered around the country as a result of natural calamities and the resulting famines.

The Assassination

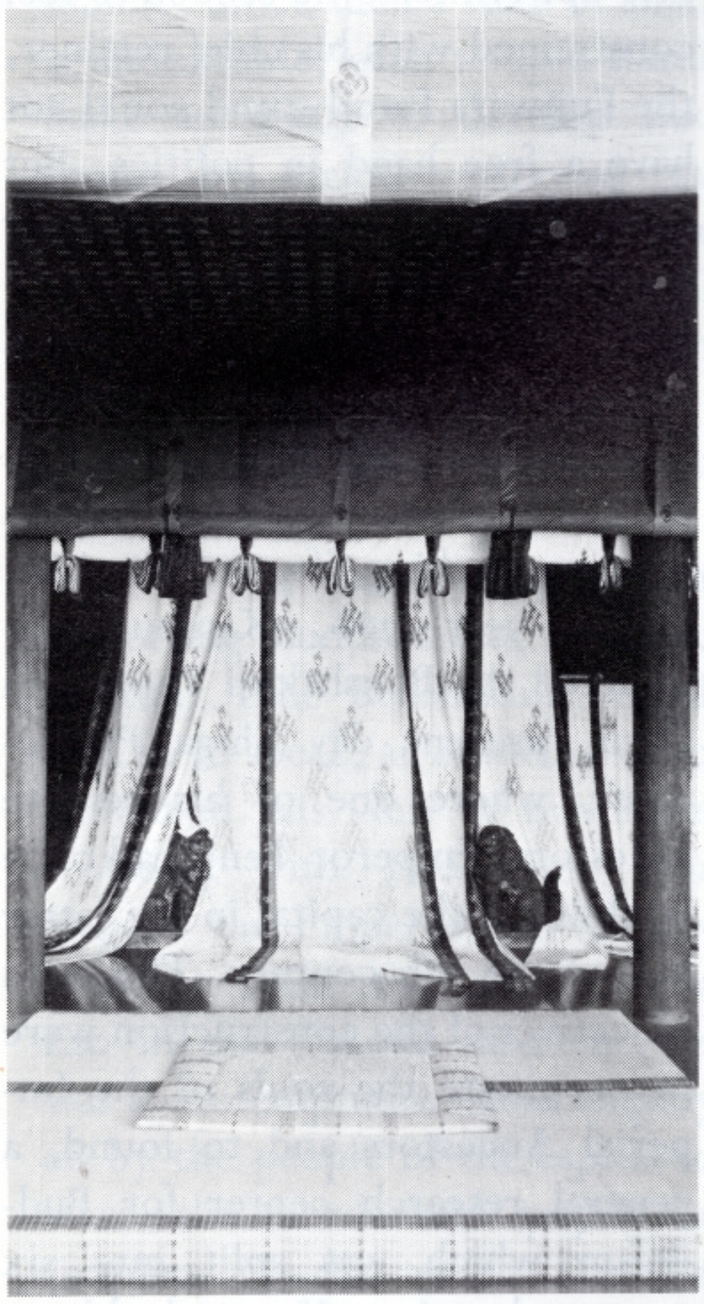
Emperor kōnin, father of Kanmu, had ascended the throne under such conditions, and strove to tighten the loose economy and reform the Ritsuryō System. His son, Kanmu, also continued this policy.

Kanmu judged that he must escape from old factions—priests, aristocrats and powerful clans—that were concentrated in the city of Nara, in order to renew the Ritsuryō System. Kanmu sharply felt that not only the plots of these old factions but, as proven by the incident of Kawatsugu's rebellion, those of the Imperial Family and the aristocrats supporting them were swirling around him in Nara.

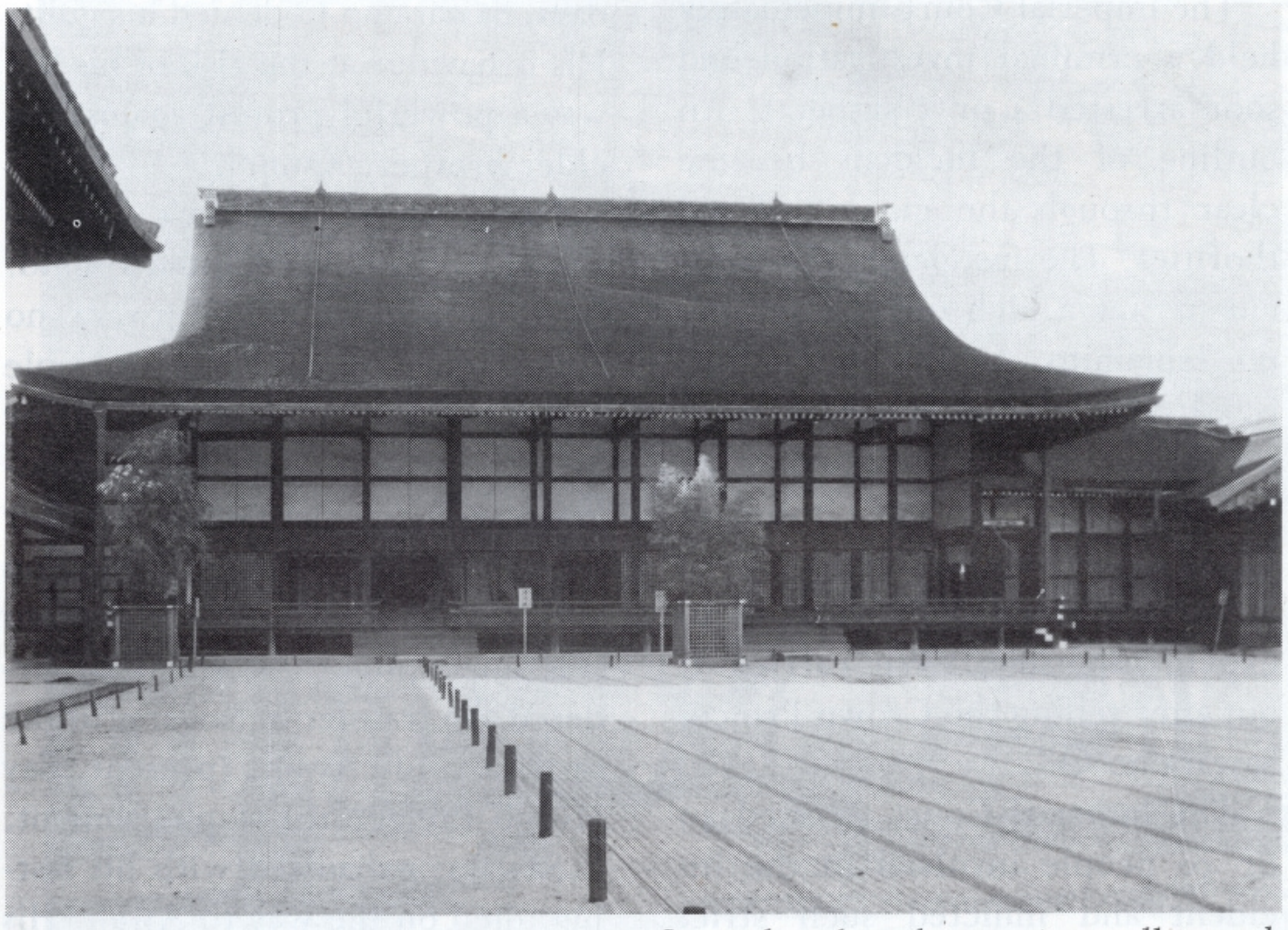
Emperor Kanmu consulted with one of his most reliable attendants, Fujiwara no Tanetsugu, and planned a transfer of the capital in secret. As a site for the new capital, Nagaoka in the province of Yamashiro (located about 30 km north of Nara and 10 km south of the present city of Kyōto) occurred to them. The province of Yamashiro was a base of powerful clans descended from naturalized Koreans. Kanmu had probably lived there in his boyhood with his mother, who was also descended from a naturalized Korean, and was known to the people there. It is said that the people of this place all prayed to Buddha for the good luck of Kanmu who was a native of the land when he was chosen as the successor to the throne.

The construction work of the new capital, Nagaokakyō began in June of 784. Tanetsugu, Kanmu's close attendant, decided to carry out a personnel reshuffle, too, upon this occasion of the transfer of the capital, and thus assigned the work of suppression of rebellion in the

Kenrei-mon, the main gate to the emperor's residencial precincts.



The ceremonial throne of the emperor.



Seiryō-den where the emperor usually stayed.

Tōhoku district far away from the capital to a high official, Ōtomo no Yakamochi (one of the most famous poets in Manyōshū and also said to be the selector of the anthology) who was considered most opposed to the Kanmu Regime.

Six months after the commencement of the construction work, the Imperial Court moved into the new capital, though incomplete as yet.

Kanmu increasingly pursued his father's (Emperor Kōnin's) administrative policy after his enthronement. He voted the construction of new temples to conserve government funds, lessened the number of officials, and threw his energy into the construction of what is now called "Cheap Government". He caused a census to be made and vagrants to be rounded up.

Kanmu went to the old Imperial Palace in Nara on an important

business in August of 785. Since factions which still had antipathy to the Kanmu Regime existed, before leaving, Kanmu appointed his younger brother, Sawara no Ō, to act for him in his absence, and he appointed his favorite retainer, Fujiwara no Tanetsugu to be in charge of construction work and directed him to keep a strict watch.

Tanetsugu, a supervisor of the construction work, was shot by someone on the night of September 23 while the Emperor was away at the old capital. Two arrows penetrated through his body. Kanmu received the bad news the next day and hurried back to the new capital. But his most reliable and favorite retainer, Tanetsugu, was already dead.

The imperial Court immediately held a criminal investigation and soon arrested 4 or 5 suspects. An outline of the incident became clear through the pursuit of authorities. The instigator of the incident was a high official, Ōtomo no Tsuguhito, cousin of the banished poet and statesman, Ōtomo no Yakamochi. He confessed to the investigation, "The late Ōtomo no Yakamochi (who had died a month before this incident) advised us to expell Tanetsugu. We carried it out after telling the Crown Prince, Sawara no Ō".

The Imperial Court arrested 40 or 50 people involved in the incident and inflicted such strict punishment as decapitations and banishments. Ōtomo no Yakamochi, found guilty for tempting the assassination, was divested of his titles.

Though it was natural that there were many people from the office connected with the Crown Prince among the names mentioned in Ōtomo no Tsuguhito's confession and among those arrested, this fact gave a great shock to Kanmu. That Sawara no Ō, Kanmu's real brother, whom he had placed in charge of political affairs in his absence, trusting him source he was the successor, had given tacit approval of the assassination of Kanmu's favorite retainer, was more than Kanmu could believe at first. However, the confession of the instigator himself clearly showed its truth. In the end, Kanmu gradually strengthened his suspicion against his younger brother.

Four days after this incident, Kanmu divested Sawara no Ō of the rank of Crown Prince and temporarily confined him to the Otokuni temple in Nagaoka kyō (the capital of Nagaoka).

Confined Sawara no Ō refused to touch all food and drink; his fasting continued for more than ten days. Sawara no Ō denied his guilt. His behaviour at the risk of his life was a powerful protest against his elder brother, Kanmu.

His younger brother's intense resistance troubled Kanmu's mind. But the assassinated Fujiwara no Tanetsugu had been a valuable retainer for Kanmu as well as for his father Kōnin and uncle Momokawa, and to forgive his brother who had had some connection with the assassination of Tanetsugu was impossible. The Emperor ordered the transfer of Sawara, to the province of Awaji (present day Hyōgo Prefecture) as punishment.

Sawara, exhausted with his fasting, died on the way to Awaji. His dead body was carried to Awaji and buried there. Though the Emperor's own younger brother, the grave of Sawara buried as a criminal was truly a rude affair.

The Two Important Tasks

EMPEROR KANMU chose his eldest son, Até, then only twelve years old, as the new Crown Prince in November of the same year. (785)

Previous to and following the assasination, aged dignitaries from Nara era as Ōtomo no Yakamochi and Fujiwara no Tanetsugu passed away one after another.

Emperor Kanmu appointed men of 30 and 40 and leading officials of the bureaucracy to important posts, and started politics with a new line-up. Hitherto he tended to feel constrained with his chief retainer, the Fujiwara Family, and could not have a free hand in politics. But now, due to Tanetsugu's and other chief retainer's deaths or retirement, he was able to freely control the abilities of the young bureaucrats and make the most of his own political ideas. Emperor Kanmu was approaching fifty at this time.

The year 786, Kanmu constructed the Bonshakuji Temple in Ōtsu (present day Shiga Prefecture), where one of his remote ancestors, Emperor Tenji had once established the capital in the latter half of the 7th century. The main objectives of the construction were to propitiate the souls of the Imperial Ancestors and to found, a general research center for Buddhism which was split into six sects at that time. Kanmu had been throwing his energy into reform ever since his enthronement, based on his decision that the corruption of Buddhism, in which the sects flourishing in Nara all had an incantatory character, while the priests were engrossed in increasing their political powers and neglected their studies of Buddhist philosophy, must be destroyed.

For example, he indicated in 783 that provincial governors were appointing irresponsible men as chief priests of the temple controlled by the government throughout Japan, and directed that the examinations of the qualifications of chief priests

be strict. He also stipulated that all learned priests of the six sects without exception should attend a Buddhist mass held in the Imperial Palace, saying, "Though each sect may have their own road to salvation, no sect may be excluded in order to spread Buddhism. However, from what I hear quarrels between the Sanron and Hossō sects are endless, each trying to monopolize the Buddhist society. Since such a state of affairs is undesirable, each temple should make an effort to develop Buddhism by strictly carrying out divisions of labor and competitions in study within the same temple without being partial to any one sect".

Emperor Kanmu's attitude toward Buddhism was not that of a believer but rather that of one respecting Buddhism as a subject of study. The Bonshakuji Temple was, so to speak, an academy which embodied this view of Buddhism.

Along with Buddhism, what plagued the Emperor and his government were the rebellions of Ezo in the Tōhoku districts. Ezo was a contemptuous name employed by the people of the capital toward the borderland population (implies "barbarian"). The Ezo disobeyed or completely disregarded the orders of officials, sent by the Imperial Court and some powerful Ezo clans began to control the districts. Though the Imperial Court had twice sent troops to the land of Ezo, they were not able to completely suppress the rebellion. Ezo was showing signs of gradually expanding its governing territory to the south. In 788, Kanmu called the general in charge of expedition against Ezo to the Imperial Court. Handing a sword to him (This ceremony imitated that of China where the emperor gave a general a sword before he went to war), he strictly admonished him thus, "Up to now, each commanding officer had been disloyal to military commands; therefore operations didn't progress as planned. This time, if any of your second-in-commands disobeys your orders and breaks down military discipline, his crime deserves death, so arrest him and tell me to that effect. Concerning the crimes of middle or lower ranking soldiers, they may be beheaded on your authority. The destiny of the Kantō districts (the districts adjacent to the Tōhoku districts, includes present day Tōkyō) depends on this single campaign. Fulfill duty without fail!"

One of the events in the popular Aoi Festival held every year in Kyōto is a parade of people wearing costumes of the Heian period.

But the third expedition also resulted in a crushing defeat of the Imperial Army.

Emperor Kanmu criticized the cause of the defeat from the angle of tactics, pointing out that first of

Chronology of Events

	A.D.	
	4th c.	National Unification under Yamato Court
	604	The 17-Article Constitution by Prince Shōtoku
	645	Taika Reform
	672	Jinshin Revolt
Nara Period (710-784)	710	Capital set up in Nara
	794	Capital moved to Kyōto
Heian Period (794-1185)	1180-5	Battles between Genji and Heiké clans
Kamakura Period (1192-1333)	1192	The Kamakura Shogunate of Minamoto no Yoritomo
	1274	Mongol Invasion
	1338	The Ashikaga Shogunate of Ashikaga Takauji
Muromachi Period (1336-1573)	1467-77	Ōnin Revolt
	1560	Battle at Okehazama
	1573	Oda Nobunaga unified the country
Momoyama Period (1568-1602)	1585	Oda Nobunaga replaced by Toyotomi Hideyoshi
	1592	Invasion of Korea
	1600	Battle at Sekigahara
Edo Period (1603-1867)	1603	The Tokugawa Shogunate by Tokugawa Ieyasu
	1637	Shimabara Revolt
	1639	Closure of the country to foreign commerce
	1702	Revenge by 47 loyal samurai for their master
	1837	Revolt of Ōshio Heihachiro
	1853	American Commodore Perry visited Japan
	1858	Japan-U.S. Amity & Commerce Treaty
Meiji Period (1868-1912)	1868	Meiji Restoration

all, only 6,000 soldiers were used though having a land force of about 30,000 men, and further, that senior commanders, left the command of the army to their juniors. He strongly blamed the commanders for their incompetence and inflicted punishments on them.

While Kanmu began to throw his energy into politics and military affairs, making full use of his good health, a certain uneasiness in his heart was slowly increasing. This was the irresistible fear of the ghosts. The terror was connected with successive insuspicious incedents as follows. First, in 788, Kōnin's wife, Tabiko (apparently not a legal wife) died at an early age of 34, and the following year Kanmu's mother, Takano no Nigasa, died. Further, his legal wife, Otomuro, died also at an early age of 31. He could not escape the illusion that these successive ominous incidents in the Imperial Household were due to the curse of his brother Sawara's ghost.

The frightened emperor ordered the officials in the province of Awaji to rebuild the grave of the Crown Prince, Sawara. He built a house for the grave keeper in the grave yard that had been left desolate until then, and ordered officials to watch that nothing should be killgd in the vicinity of the grave. In spite of his efforts to calm Sawara's ghost calamities continued.

Afflicted With Ghosts

FROM FALL to winter of 790, small pox spread rapidly over the Kyōto and Nara districts, including Nagaoka-kyō, killing many people.

One night in August of the next year (791), a gang of thieves trespassed the Isé Shrine compound and set fire to two buildings and the gate. Kanmu, frightened at the report, immediately summoned high officials to the Isé Shrine and apologized for the fire at the same time vowing to reconstruct the Shrine.

In October of the same year, the Crown Prince, Até, his eldest son, who had just had his Genpuku (ceremony to assume manhood) the previous year, showed abnormality in body and mind (historians infer this abnormality may have been a type of neurosis). The Emperor, believing that this abnormality of his son was due to the curse of the Isé Shrine, ventured to send the invalid prince on a journey to worship at the Isé Shrine owards the end of October when the cold winds blew. In front of the fire ravaged shrine, the Crown Prince prayed for his recovery. But his health did not recover as he wished. Seeing his son suffer in body and mind, Kanmu ordered (Onyōryō office in charge of astrology and divination) to divine the cause of the Crown Prince's illness. The following clear answer came from Onyōryō! "As a result of divination, the cause of the Crown Prince's illness has been traced to the curse of the ghost of the deposed Crown Prince, Sawara". Brave Emperor Kanmu, who liked military arts, was terror—stricken at this report. He at once sent a chief of the office which managed the graves of the Imperial Household to the province of Awaji, and repeatedly expressed his apology to the soul of Sawara.

His fear of ghosts not only caught the Emperor and held him fast, but increased day by day. He worried when the curse of the ghosts that had caught his son might reach him. It was known throughout the court that the Emperor was tiring himself out in his effort to appease the ghosts. The story of the emperor's fixation with the ghosts

imperceptibly flowed out of the Court, and came to be whispered in the street of Nagaoka-kyō, inciting uneasiness among the people. This situation reached the ears of the Emperor through his attendants.

Kanmu was soon driven by the thought that there was no other man to escape this situation but to leave Nagaoka-kyō haunted by ghosts, and to move to a new uncontinuated place. Of course, Kanmu knew that his courtiers would oppose a new plan of transfer because it was only ten years since the last transfer of the capital from Nara, and also he knew that powerful clans and farmers who had contributed a great deal of labor and material for the construction of Nagaoka-kyō would inevitably resent and grieve the move. But the Emperor's anxiety over the ghosts made him disregard these obstacles. He was firmly convinced that the only means of escape lay in the transfer of the capital.

Kemari, a type of kickball that the Heian aristocrats favored.

Paired boats, one in the shape of a dragon (right) and the other in the shape of a Geki, a mythical bird (left). The aristocrats of the Heian Period enjoyed themselves by playing music on these boats. Courtesy of Kyoto Trade of Tourist Information Center.

It was Waké no Kiyomaro, Kanmu's favorite retainer and upstart aristocrat, that promptly read such Emperor's intentions. He broached the subject of the transfer of the capital to the Emperor. The estimated date is 792. As a result of an open debate within the government (Imperial Court), Uda village in Kadono county (the present city of Kyōto) was chosen as the site for the new capital. In January and May of that year, the Emperor inspected the land of Kadono under the pretext of hunting. In January of 793, he sent high officials to formally inspect the area of the new capital. Six days after the inspection, a swift tearing down of Nagaoka kyō began. This act shows the concern of the Imperial Court not to have the opposition group take advantage of their unguarded moment and also proves the Emperor's excessive fear of the ghosts.

The New Capital

THE CONSTRUCTION of the new capital began in March of that year (793). The grand model of the new capital chosen by Emperor Kanmu and his government was Changan, the capital of the Tang Dynasty.

On October 22, 794, Emperor Kanmu left Nagaoka-kyō attended by the officials of the Imperial Court, including the Crown Prince and entered the new capital in

Heian Jingū built in 1895, 1100 years after the transfer to Heian-kyō, was built to hold the holy spirit of Emperor Kanmu.

Kadono county. In an Imperial declaration issued immediately after, the Emperor expressed his satisfaction with the land of the new capital, "Mountains and rivers are graceful in *Ōmiya dokoro* in Kadono, and it is convenient for all that farmers of the provinces in all directions come. . . ." Following the example of previous instances, the name of the new capital should have been Uda-kyō, prefixing the place name to the capital (kyō). However Kanmu named it Heian-kyō 平安京 (平安, Heian, means peace and trauguility and 京 means capital)—his poignant wish to escape the ominous events that had been plaguing him up till then was manifested in this name of the new capital.

Heian-kyō was laid out in a rectangle of about 5.31 km north to south, and 4.57 km east to west, approximately in the center of the Kyōto basin; The Imperial palace lay in the center of the northern end of this rectangle and was about 1.4 km in length, and 1.2 km in width. Twelve gates were built around the city. The Suzaku gate took in the center of the south side of the Imperial Palace, and from this gate the mainstreet (Suzaku Ōji) 85 meters wide, extended south. The capital was divided into Sakyō (the left capital) and Ukyō (the right capital) by this Suzaku Ōji, and the houses of government officials and private homes were line unformly, markets, temples and housing quarters for foreign visitors were built bilaterally in Sakyō and Ukyō. The magnificent Rajōmon gate in the center of the south end, the main gate to the capital made the eyes of the people in the new capital open in wonder.

Construction work on the capital continued after Kanmu's transfer from Nagaoka-kyō to Heian-kyō. Emperor Kanmu went to the site of the construction himself and even took over the supervision of the construction work. At that time he was approaching 60, but he often went hawking outside the capital, supported by his good health and active character.

After Kanmu moved into the new capital, he sent an envoy to the Tang Court and troops to conquer the Ezo to the Tōhoku districts. Thus he powerfully acted in the field of politics, military affairs and diplomacy. The foundation of the Heian Era was made by his politics.

However, his uneasiness over the curse of the ghosts did not leave him. After moving into Heian-kyō, he sometimes sent high

officials to the province of Awaji to propitiate the soul of the deposed Crown Prince, Sawara. In 800, he confered the honorable title of Emperor Sudō to his, Sawara, who slept under his grave. Furthermore, he restored the deposed Empress Igami (who, as mentioned, had died in confinement 25 years before), legal wife of his father Emperor Kōnin and his aunt, as an empress.

In August of 804, a heavy storm struck Heian Kyō. A few towers in the Court collapsed and a cow was crushed to death. Emperor Kanmu, on hearing a cow was crushed to death, associated it with the fact that he was born in the year of cow. He was depressed and whispered, "I wonder if something inauspicious may happen to me".

A Will of Emperor Kanmu

In december of 804, Emperor Kanmu fell ill. Day after day he became weaker the night of torment with the ghosts continued.

In December of the following year, the emperor called two high officials to the Court to discuss "good politics to carry on from now." One of the high officials asserted, "the commoners are distressed by two affairs—to be drafted on an expedition against the Ezo and to be forced to labor for the construction of Heian-kyō. If these two are put to halt, peace will come to the farmers". The other high official objected strongly and did not yield. After listening to the two officials' opinions thoroughly, Kanmu accepted the former's opinion. He immediately brought to an end the fourth expedition against Ezo that was under consideration and the construction of Heian-kyō.

In summer five years before this discussion, when Kanmu was inspecting the capital in an intense heat, he saw chained prisoners being driven to a repair work. He felt pity for them and had granted them amnesty by an Imperial declaration. It was because of self-criticism in governing in the latter half of his life that Kanmu decided to stop the expedition of Ezo and the construction work of the capital.

In March of 806, Emperor Kanmu passed away in spite of the prayers offerd by the high priests. His last Imperial declaration issued just before his death told the following: The proper ranks of those who had once been involved in the incident of assassination of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu were restored whether they were alive or dead and exiles were released. The priests of all the temples in Japan had to chant Buddhist sutras twice in spring and autumn to propitiate the soul of the deposed Crown Prince, Sawara. 東

Enryaku-ji—
In 785, receiving the protection of Emepror Kanmu, Priest Saichō built this temple on the breast of Mt. Hiei, Shiga Pref. This is the head temple of the Tendai Sect. For a long while, this was a temple of central importance in Japanese Buddhism.

Coming Up in the Next Issue:

Culture—The spirit of "Cha"

Cha-no-yu, along with Zen, is a product of Japanese culture created during the Period of Civil Strife.

In order to find some peace of mind in the hectic period, the people needed a world of silence. The spirit of Cha means that men respect each other and by overcoming all self-interests and sinking into silence, recover oneself and obtain vitality to live for tomorrow.

This is a highly interesting essey on Japanese culture written by Professor Higuchi Kiyoyuki, a sholar of history pursuing the structure of Japanese mentality.

History—Taira no Masakado

Taira no Masakado is a 10th century samurai with numerous legends. But of all the Japanese historical personages, there are few whose appraisal sent up and down as his. In some periods, he was considered a daring criminal that did not fear the Emperor, and in another period, as the hero who had attempted the resolute fight for national power.

We introduce the story of the local samurai who met his death in opposing the central government.

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Two Cultures

THE WORD "culture" in English seems to have close connections with the word "cultivation" in its origin. Culture, so to speak, conveys to the Westerner the whole of such things as religion, philosophy, art, and the mode of from generation to generation in much the same way as fruit and grain have been cultivated by man's hands. Let us investigate what the word "文化" (bunka), which used as the equivalent of the English word "culture" in both China and Japan today, originally implied, by an analysis of its *Kanji* s. 文化 consists of the two *Kanji* s, 文 and 化. The old form of the *Kanji* 文 (bun, mon, fumi, aya) is 㐭. According to scholars from ancient times, this is a pictograph of intermingling lines, and a symbol of a pattern or character.

Then again, according to a different theory, 㐭 depicts lapels of the kimono crossing at the breast and originally refered to the beauty of the neckline. Later, it was used to signify "literary flowrishes". Whichever theory is the correct, it can definitely be said that the character 文 originally had two sources of basic meanings, one concerning "patterns" or "shapes" and the other relating to, "character" or "sentence".

With the passing of time, varied meanings were further added. For instance the meaning of "phenomena of things" was engendered from the former source,"pattern" and "shape". Thus, astronomy (天文) is written as the union of the *Kanji* s 天 (heaven) and 文. In other words, means "various phenomena of celestial bodies".

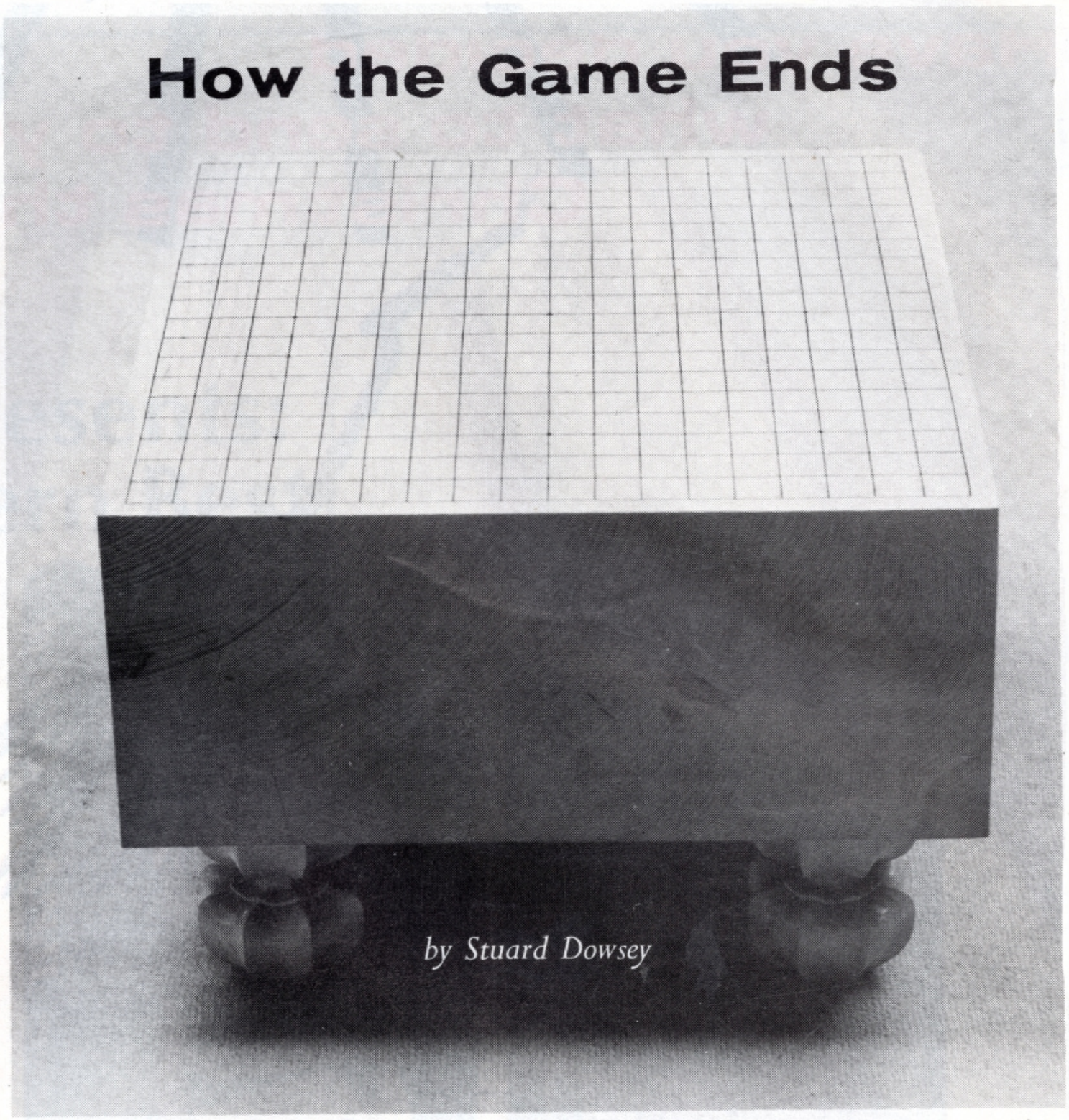
From the latter source, "character", numerous words associated with its meaning have been added —such as letter, book, learning, literature and law. 文人, written by uniting the kanji 文 and the kanji 人, indicating man, have an analogous meaning to the English phrase "man of letter". 文 is considered the pair word to 武 (signifying the military arts, to fight, to wage war, etc.) (see Vol. VII. No. 6) There "文" and "武" were the possess during the feudal ages of Japan.

The kanji 化 (ka, ke, ba (keru)) originated from the pictograph "𠤎". This evokes the shape of two men with the man on the right turned upside down. According to one theory, the figure of the inverted man on the right is the character for ka signifying "change (tv. iv.)," and "to disguise". If 亻 is placed at its left, it becomes the character signifying "a man transforms" just as Dr. Jekyll changed into Mr. Hide. This meaning then changed to " transformantion ", or "to transform ". For example, chemistry signifies "study concerning the changes of matter" and the *Kanji* s 化 and 学 (gaku, learning) are applied to it. This *Kanji* 化 is also suffixed to various words to play the same role as the English suffix ". . . .ize" (For example, civil—Civilize).

According to another interpretation of the kanji 化, this "a man of high position (𠂉) instructs a man of lower position (匕)," which subsequently came to mean "change".

This latter theory applies to the old meaning of 文化. The original meaning of 文化 was "the ruler teaches and leads the people through learning and virtue without utilizing power or punishments". This succeeded to "the state in which study and art are advanced within the world", and in due course of time, it also came to be employed as the Japanese equivalent to culture. 東

How the Game Ends



by Stuard Dowsey

In the previous four installments, we examined the rules and you know enough to be able to play by yourselves. However a common complaint amongst beginners is not knowing when the game is over. They keep putting stones on the board long after the game proper has ended. Stated simply, a game ends after there is no more territory to be gained or no more stones to be captured by either side. To illustrate this point and show you some of the basic situations that occur at the end of every game, I have prepared Figure 1. The territories have all been defined and all that's necessary is to seal them off along the edges of the board. All the points marked 'a' show where the boundaries are not yet complete. To simplify matters, I have eliminated all neutral points and undefined areas in the center of the board, although there would be some under normal circumstances.

Taking each situation in turn, let us first consider the bottom of the board. If it is White to play, he can play as far as 1 in Dia. 1. Black cannot cut this stone off from it's fellows by playing at 3 because he is playing into *atari* (i.e. his stone will be captured in one move) and so he simply blocks at 2. This move now places White 1 in *atari* and White defends by connecting at 3. Note that if Black omitted 2, White could play there to further reduce the Black area. Similarly, if White fails to play 3, Black can capture one stone by playing there himself (gaining a prisoner and a point in the process) and now White has guard against Black encroaching on his territory further. Dia. 2 shows exactly the same position but Black has played first. The sequence is the mirror image of Dia. 1 and all the same comments apply in reverse. There is an almost identical position a few points to right on the bottom line which will be played in the same manner.

Next let us look at the upper left side; Black has no possibility of making territory hereabouts but he can reduce White's territory a little if, for example, he plays 1 in Dia. 3. White blocks with 2 to safeguard his corner and if Black wishes to nibble at White's lower left he can play 3 and 5 afterwards. For White to maximize his territory in this area he must play 1 in Dia. 4. This sequence finishes with White 5 and White has one more point of territory than before (at 'a'). White might play 3 at 4 instead, in which case Black will play *atari* at 3 forcing White to connect at 'a'. It amounts to the same result. In the lower left corner, Black can play at 1 in Dia. 5 and White will answer at 2. Note that Black cannot now connect at 'a' because White will capture three stones by playing at 'b'. If Black wants to connect, he must first play at 'b' and later at 'a'. However in this case, White may choose to take Black 1 by starting the *kō* at 'a'. In the event

Cont. on p. 62

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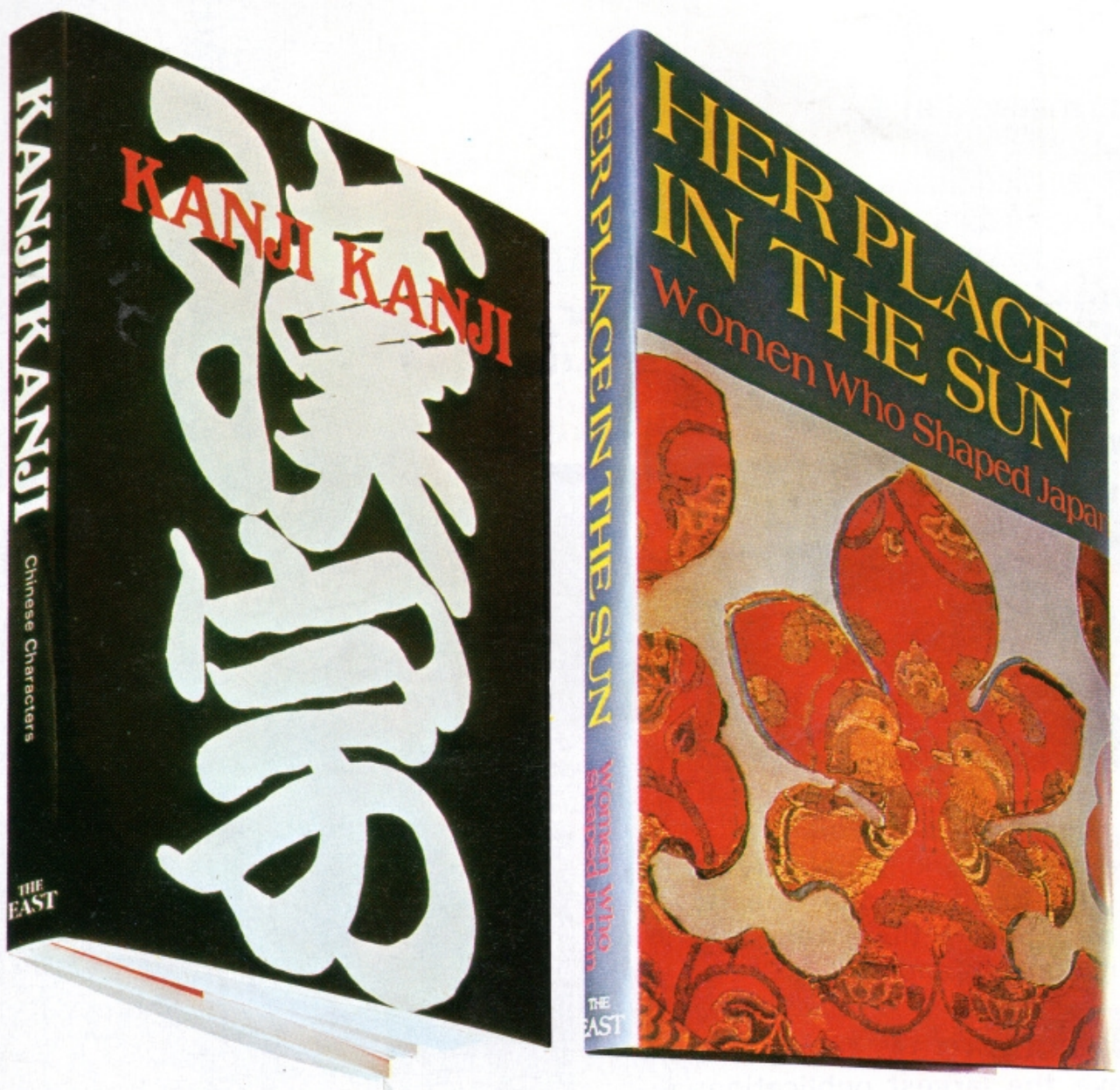

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Cont. from p. 59

that Black plays elsewhere after 1 in the diagram, White can capture at 'a', Black will connect at 'b' and White now has the choice of either connecting at 1 or leaving it to become *kō*. If the first move in this area was White's he can descend to 1 in Dia. 6. The points 'a' and 'b' are neutral and will be filled prior to counting at the end.

On the right-hand side, we find a common enough situation—White will almost certainly play atari against four Black stones with 1 in Dia. 7. Black naturally connects at 2. If Black were to play first, the most he could hope for is to push at 1 himself, but when White blocks at 'a' he must return to connect at 2. Black probably won't play this way because he loses the right to play first in the next place.

White has the most to gain in the upper-left corner as he plays 1 and 3 in Dia. 8. The reason is that Black must connect with 4 to end the exchange and White still keeps the initiative of the next move. If Black neglects the connection at 4, White can cut with 1 in Dia 9 placing the single Black stone on the upper line and the two Black stones below in *atari* simultaneously. In a double *atari*, one cannot answer both threats at once and Black stands to lose a lot of points (at least six) because of his mistake. The alternative to Dia. 8 is shown in Dia. 10, where Black plays first but as he has to play the last move of 3, he loses tempo. Note that White kept tempo in Dia. 8, therefore he can play this sequence earlier than Black can play Dia. 10.

In Dia. 11, on the other hand it is Black who will most probably

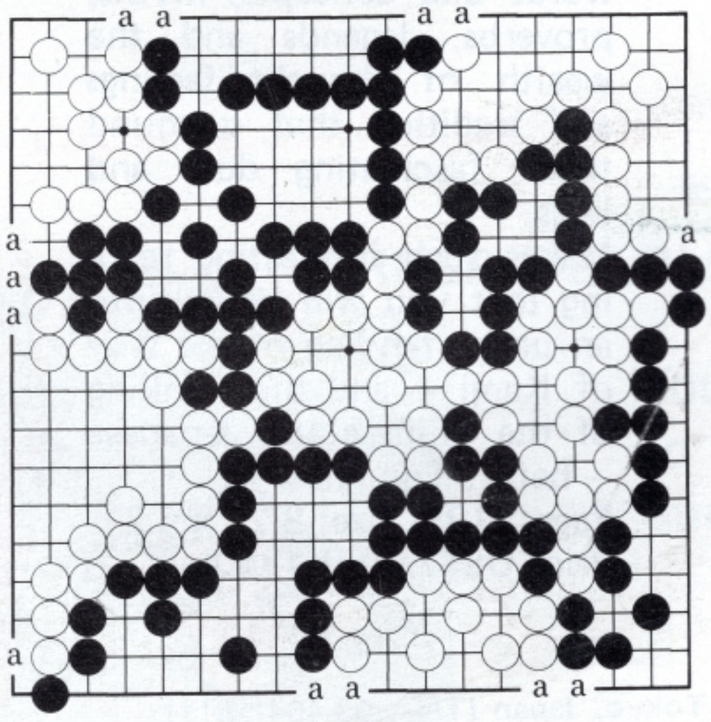
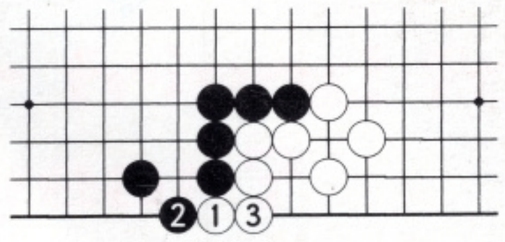
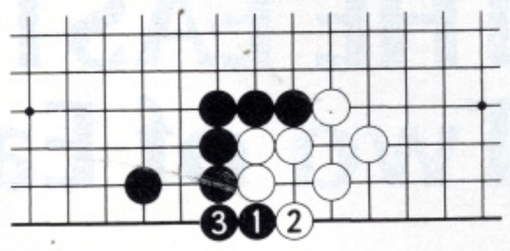


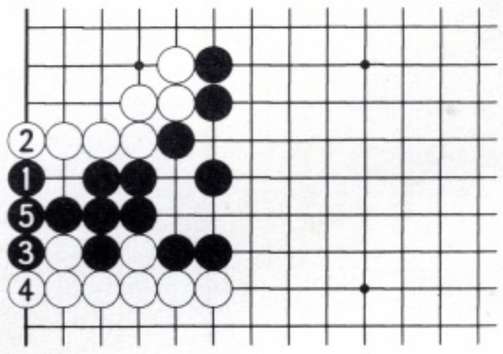
Figure 1



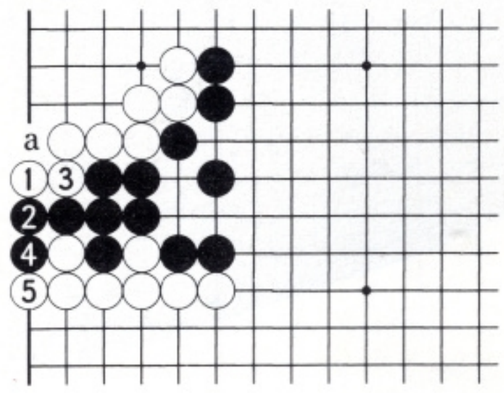
Dia. 1



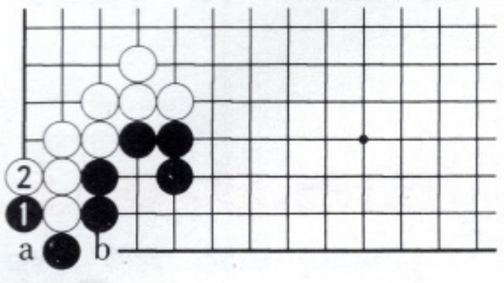
Dia. 2



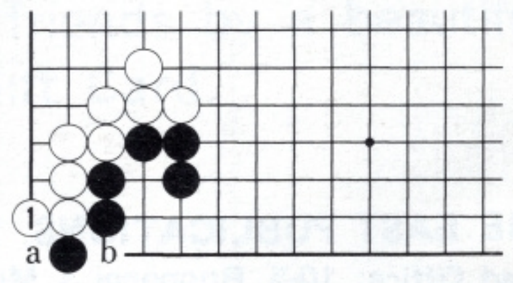
Dia. 3



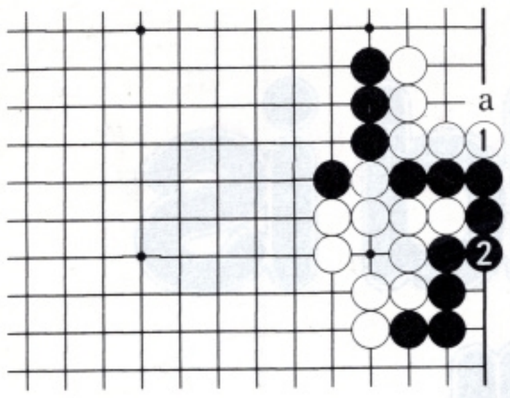
Dia. 4



Dia. 5



Dia. 6



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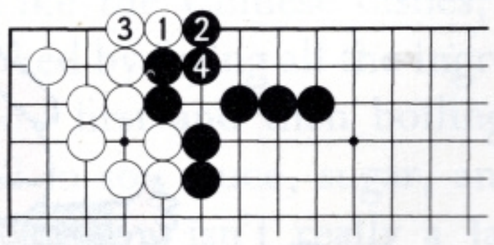

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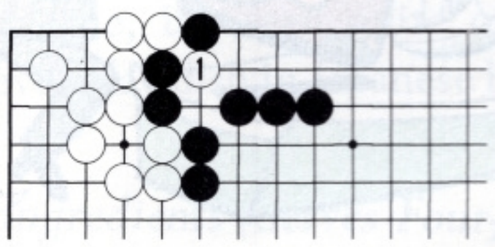

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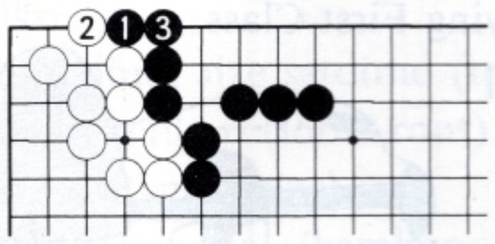
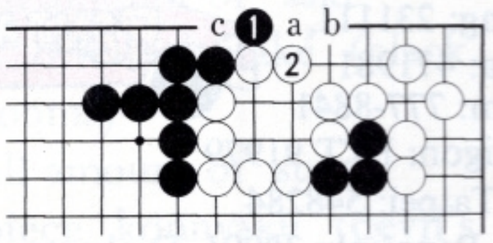
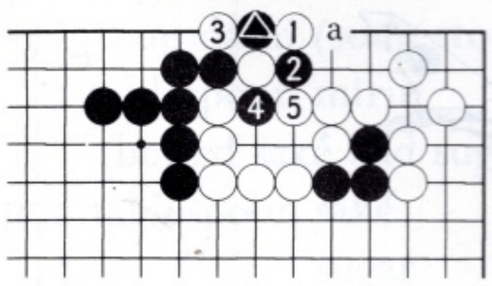


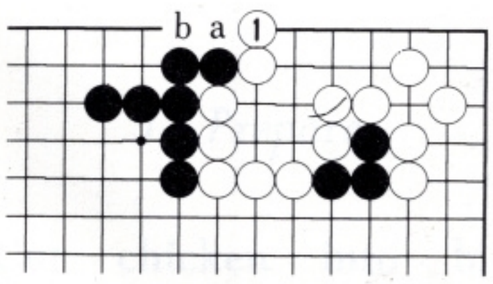
Dia. 10



Dia. 11

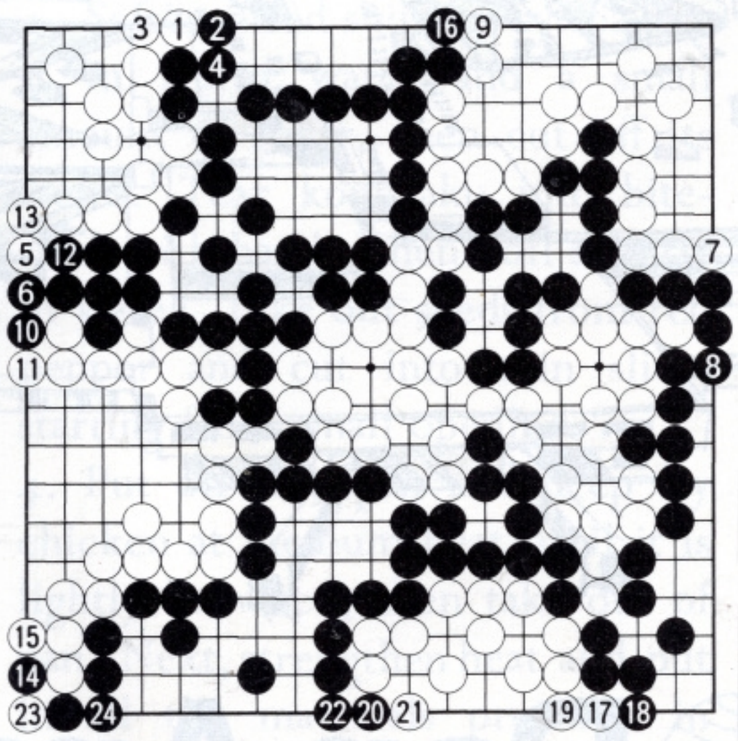


Dia. 12



Dia. 13

play first with 1. White answers at 2 and both players leave it for a while. Later on if Black wants to continue, he will play 'a', White blocks at 'b' and Black finally connects at 'c'; White's follow-up would be *atari* at 'a' which necessitates the connection of Black 'c'. Note that White cannot hope to block with 2 at 1 in Dia. 12 for Black will immediately cut at 2 to produce double-*atari*. If White connects at 4, Black will capture at 'a' and the White corner is in a shambles. The best that White can do now is capture Black ▲ with 3 which invites a second attack by Black 4. Against this atari, White must not connect at ▲ because Black will play 'a' to capture all four White stones, instead he must resort to kō by playing counter-*atari* at 5. However *kō* is a very risky procedure and he should have played simply at 2 in Dia. 11 to avoid all the trouble. Finally, White can defend the corner by playing at 1 in Dia. 13 if he has the opportunity. Later, if Black ignores this move, he can push at 'a' and Black will block at 'b'. If this is the last big point available, White could also play straight away at 'a', Black blocks at 'b' and White finishes up by connecting at 1.



㉕ connects at ⓮

Figure 2

Having looked at each situation, let us now play out the final sequence in Figure 2, to see what happens. I have given White first move, so he plays all the points where Black must answer before losing tempo by playing 9. Note that White 5 is a forcing move and if he can play at 6, he will gain three points extra on this side. Black now takes the lead from 10 up to 16. They share the two positions on the lower side; White gets 17 and Black gets 20—it makes no difference which is played first or by whom. The game ends when White takes at 23, Black connects at 24 and White does likewise at 14 to avoid kō. Now the game is ready to be counted and I'd like you to do this by yourselves before looking at my totals below,

Black:	
Upper side	27 pts
Right center	5 "
Right side	14 "
Lower side	22 "
	68 pts
Less one prisoner*	– 1 pts
Black territory:	67 pts

(*from the *kō*)

White:	
Upper left corner	13 pts
Upper right corner	23 "
Left side	20 "
Combined center	9 "
Lower side	7 "
White territory:	72 pts

In other words, White wins by five points. As an exercise, you might like to play it out giving Black the first move and then calculate the result. The best Black can hope for is to tie the game but it involves playing and winning the kō in the lower left corner but he seems to lack *kō* threats. So, I would say the best result is Black loses by one point. See if you agree.

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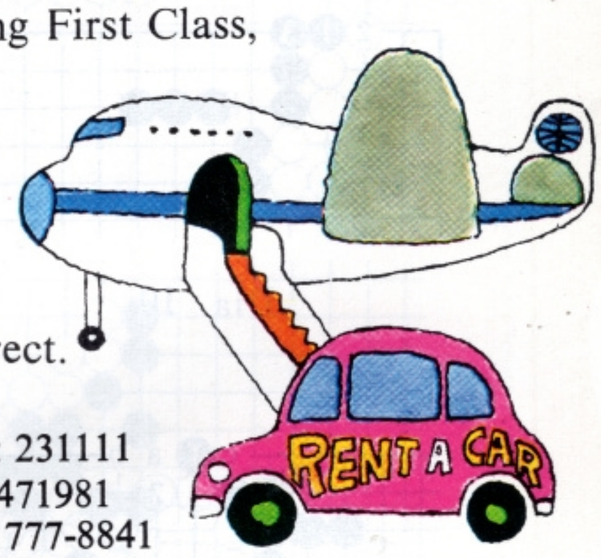

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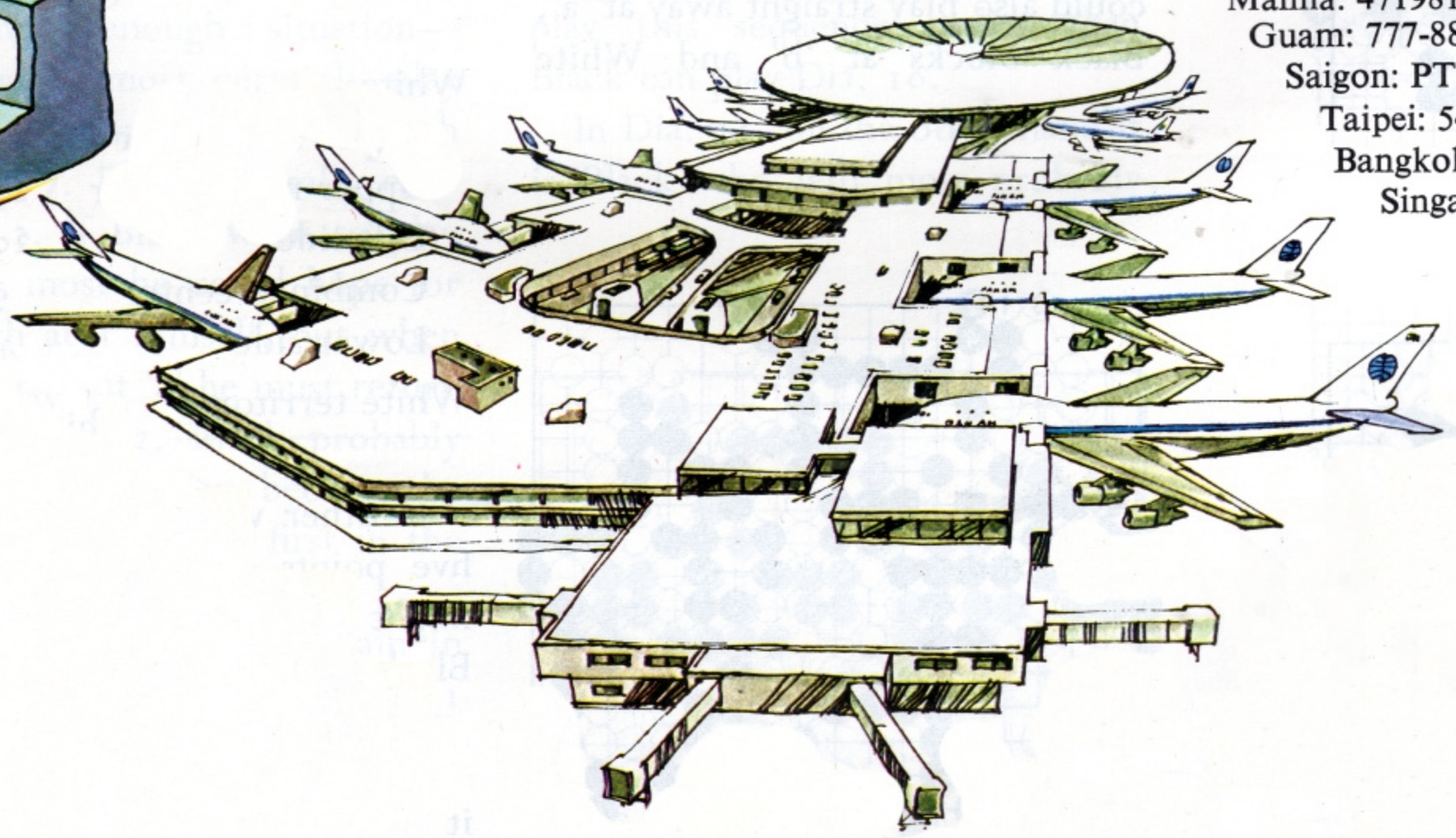

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Boiled Chicken and Vegetables, à la Chinese

Like the Chinese dishes, this is cooked by frying all the ingredients in oil first and then boiling them well in soy sauce, sugar, and soup stock. This isn't really a Japanese dish, as can be seen by its name but since it goes together so well with rice, it's seen quite often as an everyday dish in Japanese homes.

Ingredients (Serves Four):

8.8 oz. chicken (250g.)
small amount cornstarch-kataku-riko
5–6 medium size satoimo (taro)
3 pieces renkon (lotus root)
3 carrots (small size)
7 oz. takenoko (bamboo shoot) (200g.)
1 medium size gobō (burdock)
small amount of saké
5–6 dried shiitaké (black mushrooms)
small amount of sugar
1 piece konnyaku (devil's tongu jelly)
1 piece red pepper
Deep frying oil

Soup A:
- 3/4 cup dashi (soup stock)
- 2 tablespoon mirin (boiled saké and sugar)
- 2 tablespoon saké
- 2 " sugar
- 4 " soy sauce
- Dash of salt, pepper, and msg

To Prepare:

1. Cut chicken into bite-size squares, lightly cover with kataku-riko and set them aside.
2. Peel satoimo and cut in half. Cut renkon, carrots and takenoko roughly into bite-size pieces. Peel gobō and cut into size equal to other vegetables, then soak it in water and vinegar for about 30 minutes. After its harshness is gone, take it out of water.
3. Soften dried shiitaké by soaking it in warm water and a small amount of sugar, then cut off its stems. Tear konnyaku into bite-sizes with hands, then boil slightly in water. Take out seeds from red pepper and cut into thin slices starting from small opening.
4. Put oil into pan and deep fry chicken at medium heat until it is lightly browned, then take out of pan. Next, strengthen heat and put in all the materials prepared in steps 2 and 3, except red pepper. After mixing them together in the oil for about a minute, take out of oil.
5. Put Soup A in another pan, and when the soup begins to boil rapidly, put in chicken and all the vegetables, including red pepper, and boil with heat slightly weaker than medium. When the vegetables have become soft and the soup has boiled down, take them out of pan and serve.

Note: The ingredients used in this dish are all generally inexpensive in Japan, but for those outside Japan, it may be difficult to obtain them. However, it doesn't matter if one or two ingredients are missing, and also, other food can be used as substitutes. For instance, in place of satoimo, regular potatoes can be used, and string beans, or kidney beans can be used instead of gobō or renkon. But it's hard to find a substitute for konnyaku. 東

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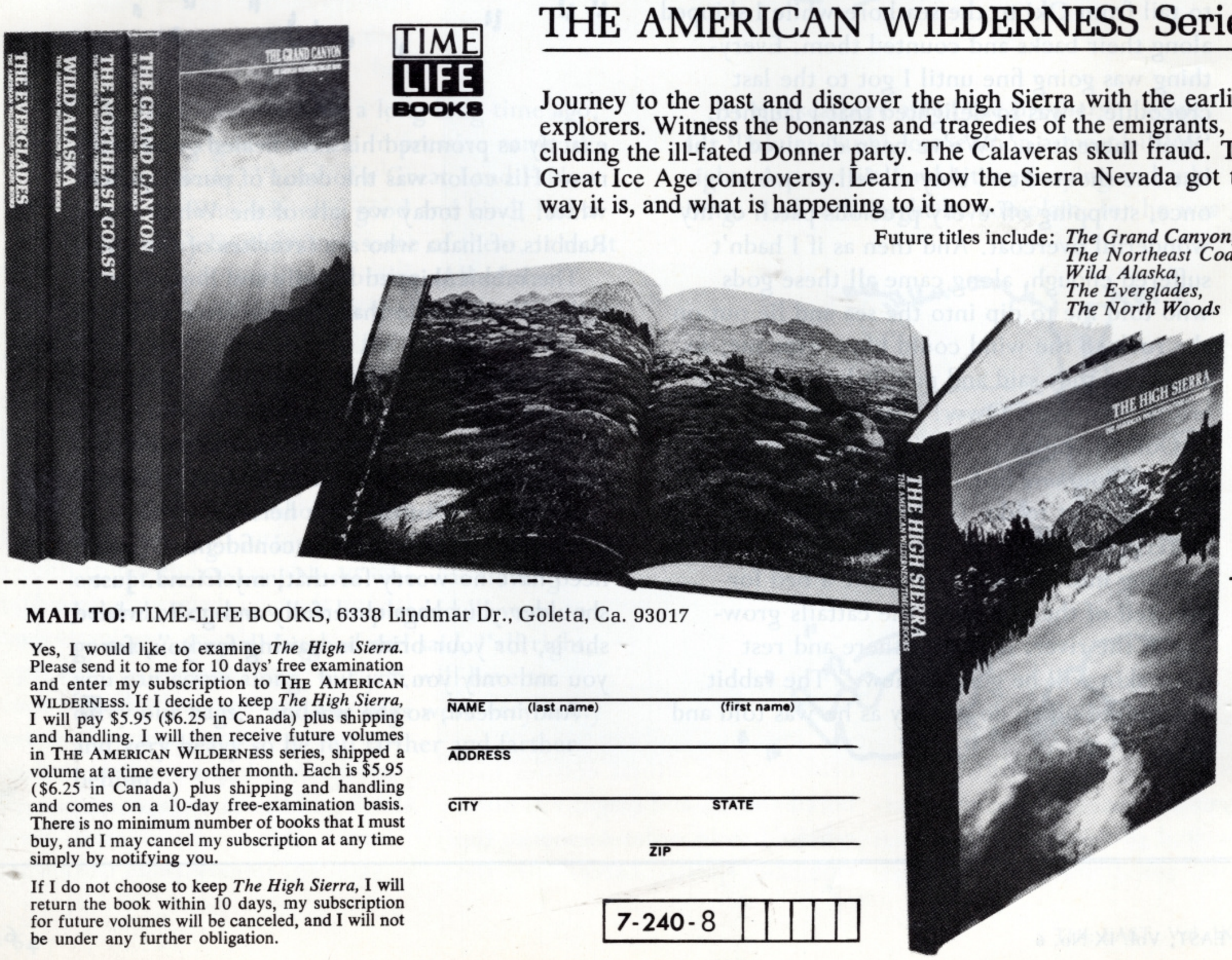

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